Journal of Administration Overseas

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INCLUDING

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by Andrzej Krassowski

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Reflections on a Putative History of the Colonial Administrative Service — a Review Article
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BOOK REVIEWS
by Dr. Chi-Yuen Wu, Dr. H. W. Singer, Dr. Joan Chapman, G. H. Franklin, A. R. G. Prosser, Dr. Richard A. Chapman, Dr. M. Juppenlatz

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Editor's Notes

THE Overseas Development Institute has long been an advocate of greater responsibilities for aid management being undertaken in the regions overseas in which the aid is being provided, and urged for several years an increase in the number of ODM* Development Divisions based overseas – a pattern that has now been adopted. It is appropriate therefore that we should publish in this Number the first study of such a Division, the oldest established, based at Beirut, written by Andrzej Krassowski while he was an ODI Research Officer. The Middle East Development Division stands up well to his examination both as a source of "advice" and, within limits, as a policy maker in its operational area.

If the Region is the macro-field, the district is the grass roots micro-field, and Messrs. Brokensha and Nellis complete their study of the Mbere district of Kenya with an examination of duties carried out by the Agricultural and other technical Departments. David Brokensha has recently paid a return visit to Mbere and he has added a postscript which brings the study right up to date. His impression is one of progress being made – "Mbere is stirring, showing the beginnings of more rapid economic development". He points to a serious danger of soil erosion as pressure grows on available good agricultural land, and to the need for a more flexible use of administrative resources; nonetheless he believes that there are great administrative resources in rural Kenya and he stresses that the administrative structure does work, albeit there is room for improvement.

How effective rural development is to be achieved is a key problem in the Third World with its vastly-expanding population and its serious shortage of food in many parts. Few countries have undertaken planned settlement schemes in their rural areas with such determination as Malaysia, and we are very glad to publish A. F. Robertson's study, from the viewpoint of a sociologist, of the progress made and problems faced by the Malaysian Federal Land Authority.

Looking back for a moment to the pre-independence era, Tony Kirk-Greene in a lively review article examines two recent books on Northern Rhodesia – before Zambia emerged, and takes the opportunity to discuss the literature of the British Colonial Administrative Service – literature upon which a new Philip Mason were he to emerge (perhaps from St. Antony's, Oxford?), would certainly need to draw.

Finally T. G. Brierley provides a note on how radio clubs have developed in franco-phone Niger.

* * *

Despite rising costs the price of this Journal remained unchanged from 1969 to 1974. At last an increase can be avoided no longer and as from this Number the new price becomes **45 pence** per copy and the annual subscription rate £2.08 inclusive of 28p for postage.

*Ministry of Overseas Development

The Middle East Development Division*

By ANDRZEJ KRASSOWSKI

Mr. Krassowski is at present working in the Secretariat of the Committee for Development, Centre for Development Planning, United Nations. From 1964 to 1973 he was Research Officer at ODI.

Introduction

Development Divisions are regional offices of the Ministry of Overseas Development. Their essential function is to give advice and support to the ODM and to diplomatic missions on the level, financial terms, and conditions of aid for each recipient in their region. Other functions are to provide consultancy services and technical assistance to local governments requiring and requesting them.

The existence of a Development Division does not alter the way aid is managed in the countries within its region. Major decisions on British aid continue to be taken in London, while the administration of both capital and technical aid remains the responsibility of the diplomatic missions. What does alter is the location of the main source of professional and technical advice for aid management; to some extent this also represents an upgrading in the importance attached to such advice.

There is no rigid formula for the performance of a "Dev Div". The experience of the prototype – the Middle East Development Division, set up in 1946 – is, therefore, quite different from that of the Divisions in the Caribbean, East Africa, Southern Africa and South-East Asia, which were established later. But the prototype is a particularly significant example of this form of on-the-spot aid administration in action. This article will, therefore, examine MEDD's development and the exact role it has played in the story of British aid management in the region.

MEDD in its local setting

The Development Division was set up in 1946 as part of the Cairo-based British Middle East Office, which was itself a descendant of the Middle East Supply Centre whose function was to assist countries in the region to become self-sufficient in food, and in some manufactures, when supplies were cut off by the Second World War. In 1952 the Development Division moved to Beirut, where it has been based ever since in the British Embassy, whose general service facilities it shares. Following the winding up of the Political Division of the Middle East Office in 1955, the Development Division

*This article arises out of a research programme by the Overseas Development Institute on the role of Development Divisions in British aid management. The author wishes to acknowledge the help received from his ODI colleagues, British officials in London and in the field, the field representatives of other aid-giving governments and agencies, and local officials in the countries he visited. He also owes a very special debt to members of the Development Division, past and present.

remained in being as a regional unit of the Foreign Office until 1961, when it came under the Department of Technical Corporation – now the ODM.

The work of MEDD is directed by a Head of Division, assisted by six to eight professional advisers and a few supporting staff. In 1972 there were eight advisers covering economics and statistics (two advisers), agriculture forestry and soil conservation, animal husbandry, engineering and industry (two advisers) and technical education. The coverage has changed somewhat over the years, but there has always been a strong emphasis on economics, statistics, engineering and, particularly, agriculture and related fields.

Advisers depend to a large extent on the informal personal and professional contacts they have established with local people and representatives of other donor agencies resident in the Middle East. They spend more than one-third of their time on tour away from Beirut, usually on short trips, either to assist British diplomatic missions or local governments with specific tasks, or as part of the normal process of keeping themselves informed of trends in their area of expertise. Tours may also include visits to aid-financed or British technical assistance personnel working in the country, as well as to non-governmental bodies such as universities or professional associations.

The Division's area of operations extends over the entire Arab-speaking Middle East, as well as Cyprus and the three CENTO countries – Iran, Turkey and Pakistan; the Division's services have also been made available on an *ad hoc* basis in countries on the periphery of its main area. The amounts and types of British aid in whose management the Division participates are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1

DISBURSEMENT OF BRITISH OFFICIAL AID, 1965-71

	Loans gross (£000)	Financial grants (£000)	Technical Assistance (£000)	Total gross (£000)	Total net (£000)	Net per caput (£)	Experts[2] (nos.)
Afghanistan ..	1026	—	462	1288	1174	0.08	28
Bahrain	—	627	361	988	988	4.66	44
Cyprus	—	1969	921	2890	1928	3.08	72
Egypt	660	266	198	1124	−1209	−0.03	43
Iran	3871	—	2460	6331	4773	0.16	116
Iraq	—	44	105	149	149	0.02	6
Jordan	6619	7697	1062	15378	15377	6.64	42
Kuwait	—	—	1	1	1	[1]	1
Lebanon	—	98	98	98	98	0.03	25
Libya	—	813	50	863	863	0.45	144
Muscat and Oman ..	—	669	—	669	669	1.11	—
Saudi Arabia ..	—	—	45	45	45	[1]	11
Sudan	4361	255	1891	6507	3426	0.22	60
Syria	—	—	183	183	183	0.03	5
Turkey	36477	246	2563	39386	33481	0.95	62
United Arab Emirates[3] ..	—	2776	11	2788	2788	12.65	9
Yemen (South)[4] ..	190	32379		32569	31350	26.10	135

Notes: [1]Net of amortization and interest.
[2]Experts (excluding volunteers) recruited and sent, including those entirely or partly financed by Britain.
[3]Formerly the Trucial States.
[4]Formerly Aden and South Arabia.
[5]Less than £0.01.

Sources: *British Aid Statistics*, various issues (HMSO).

From the viewpoint of aid management, the Middle East is both an easy and a difficult area. As leading personalities and professional people have long been exposed to Western ways, and as traditional politeness and hospitality invariably prevail, the climate is conducive to relatively easy contacts. British advisers enjoy a particular advantage in many countries – notably, Cyprus, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan and the Gulf States – through the familiarity created by Britain's long political and commercial presence. Nevertheless, there are difficulties; language can present problems in assessing the local mood and in day-to-day contacts with local people; social customs and patterns can be misunderstood, with considerable implications for aid work in the social, educational and rural development fields. But the most formidable problems arise in dealings with administrations. Whereas, professional contacts are not difficult to establish or maintain, the actual working of the administrations is not easy for the foreigner to understand without considerable local knowledge and effort.

Systems of administration vary from the large elaborate bureaucracies of Egypt, Iran and Turkey – staffed by many able and highly-qualified people – to the "family business" operations of the Saudi Arabian peninsula or some of the Gulf states. But everywhere, making it difficult for him to meet his "opposite number", the aid administrator meets with authoritarian and paternalistic forms of political rule.

More important still, many of the administrative systems function only with the help of a separate network of family or personal connections, through which much of the real work is done. Outsiders can normally gain access to these parallel administrative channels only by winning the confidence of particular local officials. Yet, even long residence in the area is no guarantee that a MEDD representative will overcome local dislike of outside interference.

The formative years

MEDD's original terms of reference defined its purpose as to provide direct "technical assistance and advice wherever required to Middle East countries"[1] This it did by undertaking surveys in scientific, social and economic fields and recommending specific action; helping in the recruitment of technical and expert personnel and carrying out specific tasks, such as the rehabilitation of terracing in Muscat, or the setting up of statistical services in several countries, including Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. When MEDD started, it was the only British technical assistance programme anywhere outside the dependent territories. In the Middle East itself, its technical assistance remained the only form of aid given by Britain on a continuing basis until 1951.

That the Division should have got involved in aid management was not planned, but more or less inevitable, and its approach to the task reflected its technical assistance background and the circumstances in which it was first set up.

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[1]See Tenth Report from the Estimates Committee, HC 303 Session 1963-64. Foreign Office Memorandum.

MEDD's emphasis on informality and personal contacts derives, among other things, from the overt political reason for establishing the Division. At that time, the Foreign Office realised that some positive action was required if Britain's political, strategic and commercial stake in the area was not to be jeopardised by new forces and ideologies. The British Government's view was that the development of Middle East countries should be facilitated "along lines which would increase their stability and their reliance on British connections, and which would make them less receptive to Communist and other extremist influences"[2].

MEDD brought its own particular interpretation to these political motives for encouraging development. It was thought tactically prudent, for instance, for advisers to keep aloof from day-to-day fluctuations in political relations, as far as possible – and to avoid being identified with specific British diplomatic or commercial interests. Also, that MEDD should concentrate on the objective of long-term development, and work with any government, whatever its political complexion. It followed that MEDD had to be seen to be identified with the interests of the countries in the area. Thus, it set out to acquire a reputation for impartial service, technical reliability and professional integrity – with the ultimate aim of being invited into the policy and decision-making processes of the country. Once this was achieved, it sought to maintain an influence in an informal way, relying on the quality of its advice, rather than on any power or prestige as the servant of the British Government.

Although formally, MEDD could not act without being invited by the government of a country in the area, in practice, MEDD often took the initiative in prompting such invitations, so that it could establish a foothold for a firm relationship. All that was needed for MEDD to involve itself in a country was that normal diplomatic relations should exist. After a diplomatic break, MEDD was often in at the earliest stage of re-establishing relations, because technical assistance was regarded as a suitably neutral subject for co-operation. Thus, even during the most difficult periods – as in the aftermath of Suez – MEDD's activities were usually welcomed by Middle East countries.

Although MEDD was able to operate in most countries for most of the 1950's, the slenderness of its resources forced it to confine its main effort to a handful of States; its choices of Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq were considerably influenced by immediate political requirements. The emphasis on Jordan was due largely to Britain's special interests there, which stemmed from its mandatory responsibilities in Palestine and its favourable disposition towards the Hashemite royal family. There was also the special factor of the economic disruption caused by the Arab-Israel war of 1948 and the consequent refugee problem which affected Jordan disproportionately.

In the case of Iraq, Britain had an understanding going back before the war that if that country should require expatriate personnel, it would turn to Britain first. Thus on top of the considerable British commercial stake in Iraq, especially in oil, there was a sizeable technical presence and a well-established spirit of technical co-operation antedating the setting up of MEDD.

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[2] *Ibid.*

The first financial offer to any Middle East country was made to the new state of Jordan in 1949. The first regular financial aid programme was launched in 1951, also in Jordan. While financial aid to the area started with programmes for Jordan and Libya, partly because of their then poor economic endowment and lack of skills (in contrast to, say, Iraq), exceptional political factors also played an important part. Both financial agreements were, in effect, political acts to meet special needs following the end of Britain's Palestine mandate in one case, and of the Anglo-French military administration (followed by Britain's negotiation of base rights) in the other.

When these aid funds began to flow, MEDD already had a firm foothold in Jordan through its advisory work. It was a short step from advising on specific technical problems, to advising on the use of British funds for their solution, and another short step to initiating schemes to this effect. The Frontier Development and Village Loan schemes of the late forties and early fifties – still considered model rural development projects in the Middle East – were conceived, set up and partly administered by the Agricultural Adviser on behalf of the government. The aim of these complementary schemes was to rehabilitate villages on the Jordanian side of the new frontier with Israel, which had been cut off from their traditional farming land by the 1948 war. MEDD guided the government and the local people in adjusting traditional activities to new circumstances – through land improvement by clearing and terracing and the introduction of new ventures such as intensive poultry rearing – and provided the finance for the necessary inputs. All of this was achieved with a minimal administrative structure, relying largely on the self-help efforts of local villagers.

Involvement was extended to the wider area of general policy through MEDD's initiative and participation in the setting up of the Jordan Development Board financed largely from British aid. MEDD's association with the Board gave it great influence over the entire development programme, at a time when Jordan had few rigid development aims or priorities, so that advisers enjoyed uniquely wide opportunities. MEDD's influence did not then depend on any formal control of aid funds, as was to be the case later. Decisions on the spending of funds were vested in the Jordanian government – effectively the Board – and MEDD's claim to a voice in the Board's deliberations could be based solely on the advisers' professional and personal standing with the Jordanian members of the Board, and of departments which put up projects for Board financing.

The next generation of British aid programmes in the Middle East stemmed from Britain's accession to the Baghdad Pact in 1955. Although a military alliance, the Baghdad Pact/CENTO has from the start played a role in economic development in the Middle East. Britain's initial contribution took the form of two long-term pledges; £1m for joint projects and another £1m for technical assistance.

The economic work of CENTO is formally supervised by a ministerial Economic Committee, on which all signatory powers (and the USA) are represented, and which meets once a year. In practice, aid under CENTO has been largely bilateral, provided direct from Britain and the USA to

individual countries. However, a strong emphasis has been put on the multilateral side, with its connotations of partnership and joint decision taking. The formula proved acceptable to Turkey and Iran, who were particularly sensitive to outside interference. When it came to nominating British representatives to these technical sub-committees, MEDD was an obvious source, not least because it was already heavily involved – and welcome – in Iraq, where they originally met. While CENTO thus gave MEDD advisers new scope, it must be emphasised that it was not Britain's aid as such, but its membership of the alliance, that gave MEDD advisers a voice; whether they were heard or not depended on their professional authority and personal persuasiveness.

The relationship between MEDD, London and British diplomatic missions

MEDD's relationships with London and British diplomatic missions has been an important factor in the evolution of its management activities. While MEDD's measure of independence from both was valuable in its effort to maintain some political detachment and gain acceptance within the Middle East, there were drawbacks in the imprecise definition of its duties and responsibilities, and in its ill-defined status within the British government apparatus.

Outside the dependent territories, aid-giving throughout the 1950s tended to be *ad hoc;* no clear procedures were laid down, and there was no obligation for either the Foreign Office or the diplomatic missions – whose task it was to forward requests from governments – to consult MEDD on any issue. MEDD's entry into the aid management field, while a fact, was not legitimised until the establishment of ODM. Until then, MEDD's influence over the way aid was used derived from its influence on those who used aid or initiated and transmitted requests to London. At the same time MEDD had to make its presence felt by British diplomatic officials. The form of MEDD's co-operation with missions varied from country to country. Some embassies, for example in Iraq and Jordan, made it their normal practice to work with and consult MEDD; some – in Iran for instance – played a more independent role, co-operation with MEDD being more distant and *ad hoc* and some had little to do with MEDD. The colonial authorities in Aden, for example, even resented its interference.

With the development of more systematic aid procedures in London, following the setting up of ODM, MEDD's role in aid management was formalised. While it now enjoys a precise status, its major rights and responsibilities having been defined in the course of time, its style has remained largely unchanged. This has been made possible by continuity in staffing and by a continued concentration of effort on the three remaining countries – Jordan, Turkey and Iran – of the group with which MEDD was originally involved in aid management, plus Egypt, Sudan, Oman and Bahrain, in all of which there has been an intermittent MEDD aid and management presence going back some considerable time. In the last two or three years, MEDD has begun to develop programmes in Afghanistan and the Yemen Arab Republic, where its advisers have found it possible to operate in much the same way, despite lack of previous involvement in these countries.

Both London and MEDD have always insisted that MEDD does not actually manage aid, but the distinction between management and support is not precise. Certainly, missions generally rely on the technical expertise of MEDD; but they usually rely on much more. Technical expertise is useful, but frequently less important than local knowledge or diplomatic skill. The quality of aid is determined to an important extent by the ability of British diplomats or advisers to spot potential and actual break-downs in communications within the local government machine, and to remove obstacles all along the line between donor and recipient.

Major capital projects are often held up because the recipient, for one reason or another, fails to supply the information required. Frequently there is a breakdown of communications between the agency responsible for the project and the government department primarily responsible for negotiating with donors; this can be settled easily enough once the chain of command within the recipient administration is known. Indifference, or bad organisation in one ministry or another can also cause delay. Sometimes the success of a project hinges on a particular individual in the government: if he leaves, either in the interval between project agreement and implementation or during work in progress, the project may collapse – a common fate of technical assistance projects. Here again British officials with local knowledge may be able to stop the project in time or persuade someone else in the relevant government department to take responsibility. Another type of obstacle – on the British side this time – concerns the inapplicability of general rules to local circumstances. Among such norms are requirements to purchase from Britain, the terms and conditions on which technical assistance is offered, and request procedures. Skilled aid managers can assess on the spot the extent to which any of these might jeopardise the ultimate success of an aid scheme, and if so, what sort of case for exceptional treatment is likely to carry weight in London.

Under the British system, work of this kind should be the concern primarily of diplomatic mission personnel responsible for aid administration. But it occupies a large part of MEDD's time as well. The way the load is actually divided between MEDD and missions may depend on the time that an embassy can spare for aid work – which itself depends in part on the interest and attitude to aid of Ambassadors or senior Chancery officials – or the extent to which a particular embassy has got into the habit of asking for MEDD support; on the other side there is the nature of the administrative arrangements for aid negotiations, and the type of local officials with whom embassies have to deal. In some countries – Jordan for instance – MEDD advisers take on the main burden of this work; in Turkey, the load is shared roughly equally.

The administration of aid on the spot is undertaken by career diplomats. For *senior* officers aid is usually only one of several responsibilities, with commercial or general economic work more often than not their main preoccupation. While their diplomatic experience, their seniority and status (which count for much in the Middle East) and their residence on the spot are important attributes for "aid diplomacy", the time they can devote to aid work is limited.

In the main aid-receiving countries (other than Jordan) senior diplomatic officers are supported by one – and in Turkey even two – officers engaged full-time on aid work. The majority of full-time officers tend to be relatively junior; for some it is their first experience of aid work, or indeed their first posting in a developing country.

The majority of MEDD advisers, on the other hand, are senior men with a long period of service with the Division: of the 1972 complement only two had served for less than four years. When appointed all had had some years of professional experience either in the area or in other parts of the developing world. Most had worked for one or more governments. With their collective and individual store of knowledge, long "memories" and extensive local contacts, it is they, rather than the diplomats, who provide the continuity needed in aid operations, and who are best placed to smooth the path for new embassy officials. This is precisely why MEDD advisers have to do the many minor, but complicated, trouble-shooting duties, even if the problems are not essentially technical in nature. At the same time, MEDD advisers, even for their own professional work, have to rely on the embassy staff, particularly for information on day-to-day developments affecting the economy, or the specific projects and schemes on which they are working. Although advisers may visit countries frequently, such visits cannot make for the same intimacy with a country as continuous residence, particularly when each adviser has to cover, at the very least, half a dozen societies with widely-differing characteristics and problems.

The current attitude of British embassies in the Middle East to the role played by MEDD varies from regarding it as something of a luxury to appreciation as a better understanding is gained of its work. This range of reactions is understandable when it is realised that MEDD advisers do not visit Iran, for instance, as often as they visit Jordan or Turkey. Thus, the local aid officers in Iran have to carry a larger burden than those in the other two countries, of what is semi-technical work; consequently, they tend to think of MEDD as being more a source of technical expertise, not very different from that which UK-based advisers provide. The embassy in Turkey, on the other hand, considers MEDD help indispensable, and would be glad to have its services in a more continuous form than can be provided from Beirut.

MEDD's role in the shaping of country aid programmes

While MEDD advisers are heavily involved in supporting the non-technical work of aid by diplomatic officers, the main justification for their presence continues to lie in the professional expertise they bring to aid management. The nature of their formal professional duties can be most conveniently illustrated in the work done in the three countries with long-established British aid programmes – Jordan, Turkey and Iran. These duties may be divided into two broad categories: advisory functions on the scale, composition, conditions and sectoral distribution of British aid; and project vetting, helping recipients to work up ideas into aidable projects, and ensuring that projects advance from original proposal to successful completion.

MEDD's uppermost consideration in advising ODM on the appropriate scale and make-up of the aid programme is developmental; but MEDD advisers always have to keep in mind the political circumstances of the recipient, as well as British interests, particularly commercial interests, even though explicit responsibility for looking after these matters lies elsewhere. In so far as the developmental objective is concerned, it is generally accepted that the main determinations of development performance are, first, the general policies pursued by recipients, and second, the skill and effectiveness with which internally-generated resources are used. Aid may add to these resources and it may modify the overall pattern of investment initiated by the recipient. Moreover, through discussions on aid use, donors may affect the way recipients manage either broad policy or sectoral programmes, or individual projects. The greater the country's dependence on aid, and the larger the donor's presence in it, the greater is the donor's potential impact on the overall shape of the recipient's development effort. Similarly, as the aid input increases, so does the donor's interest in reducing waste through inappropriate recipient policies.

In Jordan, Turkey and Iran, the overall importance of aid varies widely. In Jordan both capital and technical aid are significant, in 1968-70 accounting between them for as much as 8.5 per cent of GNP and 20 per cent of imports. In Turkey capital aid is important – though much less so than in Jordan – accounting for 2.3 per cent of GNP and 25 per cent of imports. In Iran, which has substantial oil revenues, capital aid is not important but technical assistance is (with aid overall accounting for 1 per cent of GNP and 5 per cent of imports). The potential impact of donor policies in these countries varies accordingly, but is very large on particular sectors in all three.

In none of these countries is Britain the major bilateral donor, although in both absolute terms and in the British aid context, its contribution to Jordan and Turkey is substantial. In Turkey, Britain has in the past few years ranked third behind the US and West Germany, in 1968-70 accounting for 5 per cent of total aid receipts. In Jordan its ranking is the same but here the British contribution to the total is larger (24 per cent in 1968-70). In Iran, Britain is one donor among many, accounting for 2 per cent of the total in 1968-70. In Iran and Turkey, British aid decisions must as a consequence be made in what is generally a predetermined situation. Inevitably, therefore, MEDD's main preoccupation has been to develop a role for helping, through technical assistance or project aid, particular identifiable activities or sub-sectoral programmes.

The situation in Jordan is more complicated in that British actions can have a considerable effect on the overall pattern of events, by virtue of both the relative size of its aid and its special political influence. Thus, Turkey, Iran and Jordan present contrasting examples of donor efforts aimed at influencing the general course of a recipient's development policy.

In the 1950's, Turkey had amassed substantial medium-term credits, which needed to be re-financed, and its objectives could not be advanced without additional large-scale aid in the 1960's. While this aid was largely forthcoming – for strategic reasons – donors were anxious that it should

induce Turkey to alter some of its developmental policies and eventually cut down its reliance on aid. Aid pressures to this end have not been conspicuously effective, and it is Turkey's scheduled membership of the EEC by 1980 which has brought its policies more into line with donor thinking. Efforts are now being made to develop agriculture, to place less emphasis on import-substitution and more on export promotion, to liberalise imports and put state enterprises on a more economic footing.

Britain's role both as critic of Turkish policies and supporter of aid of the right kind has been important, but intermittent. Until 1969, MEDD played a minor role in these strategic activities, although it was the major British government source of advice on Turkey's development prospects and policies. MEDD's main concern was, rather, with the projects coming under CENTO auspices, largely in the field of communications. Since the introduction of Country Policy Papers in ODM in 1969, MEDD's role has extended to cover overall policy. Moreover, there is now more work for MEDD on project appraisal, made necessary by the recent shift from programme to project aid. Because Turkey's project list offered few schemes which did not directly support import-substitution, MEDD's task has been essentially one of selecting the best projects out of a bad list, and making sure that the projects at least reached the highest possible financial and technical standard. Britain thus has had to support a number of projects of debatable economic worth – such as the petrochemical complex at Izmit, or the Bosphorous bridge and motorway complex in Istanbul.

Iran presents a contrast as far as an organised effort at donor influence is concerned. Despite the presence of many donors, there is no effective mechanism for donor-recipient consultations, other than in a bilateral setting. It is only recently that the UN Resident Representative has provided a centre for donor co-ordination. Previously, intra-donor contacts were informal and *ad hoc*, with Britain's representation coming from the embassy official responsible for aid, rather than MEDD. Britain's aid has thus been shaped largely by the consultations in CENTO, and Britain has contributed to a number of CENTO ventures based in Iran, most notably the Agricultural Training Centre at Karaj. MEDD advisers, though, have been closely involved in the planning and running of these ventures; the Agricultural Adviser, for example, has acted as a regular consultant at Karaj. Outside the CENTO framework, the composition of British technical assistance to Iran has evolved largely in response to Iranian requests or initiatives from individual advisers, working through local professional contacts, who have spotted opportunities for useful projects. British aid – in recent years consisting largely of the supply of experts and related equipment – is, therefore, widely dispersed, with training at various levels, particularly vocational training, providing a certain unifying theme.

In Jordan, the consultation mechanism is also informal, but here, Britain, through MEDD, plays a much more significant role. The combined importance of the main donors is much greater than in both Turkey and Iran, since Jordan has very limited domestic resources (limited still further as a result of the Six-day War). But while Britain is now only third among donors, its influence on policy is greater than its aid ranking would suggest. The

influence stems directly from MEDD's old-established position in Jordan, and the long period when British aid was paramount.

Compared with Turkey or Iran, Jordan's economy is simple, and most observers, foreign or Jordanian, are agreed on the priority areas since there are so few alternative possibilities for development. The economy is predominantly agricultural and pastoral, but water shortage is a perennial problem and limits the activities that the land can support. There is little industry, and phosphate is the only important mineral to be exploited. Before the Six-day War in 1967, tourism was very important, but has dwindled to a minor activity since Jordan lost Jerusalem and the West Bank. In the period between the 1967 war and 1971 the Jordanian government felt unable to plan without including the West Bank in its thinking, for instance in developing the electricity grid. Much of the impetus for development then came from the donors, whose active presence and interest were major factors in ensuring that some development took place on the East Bank, through viable projects which did not prejudice planning for a period when the East and West Banks would once again be combined. Since 1972 Jordan has approached development with renewed vigour. There is a comprehensive plan for 1973-1975, which includes both general priorities and specific projects. Britain is assisting in developing the infrastructure, mining, public utilities and water resources.

Taking the three countries together, most of MEDD's time on aid management work is thus devoted to project preparation, selection, supervision and evaluation, involving either capital aid or technical assistance or both. Project proposals originate in many ways and their progress to final approval and release of aid funds is usually long and often complicated. It is not uncommon for MEDD to prompt requests through discussion and joint evolution of ideas. This is an aspect of its style which originated in its direct technical assistance role in the embryonic years of British aid and which was later legitimised in the ODM policy statement referring to its desire to become "more active in identifying particular opportunities for providing aid".[3]

The scope for MEDD initiative in project selection, the particular circumstances in which project proposals come forward, and the work that is required to bring them to an acceptable stage for financing, vary from case to case and from country to country. In Turkey and Iran the whole procedure is highly formalised; in Jordan it is informal.

In Turkey, the State Planning Organisation (SPO) vets all projects put up, for aid financing, by government departments, state enterprises and private concerns. It prepares an annual list of priority projects for submission to the Aid Consortium (some other projects are forwarded direct to specific donors). Sometimes SPO makes it clear that it would prefer a particular project to be financed by a particular donor. Such projects, as well as those put forward outside the "list", have usually already been tacitly accepted by some donor in preliminary discussions; or, alternatively, private tenders from abroad

[3] "Overseas Development: The Work of the New Ministry", *Cmnd.* 2763, 1965; *para.* 112.

may already have been accepted on condition that the relevant government provide the aid funds to cover the foreign exchange costs in part or in full. It is now rare for MEDD to be presented with a project request out of the blue. More often than not it will have hinted its interest in certain projects, and in some cases, MEDD advisers may have helped particular departments to pilot projects through the SPO vetting process, so that they could appear on the Consortium list. Occasionally, British companies win tenders for projects which MEDD does not like, and this can be embarrassing, particularly if there are no clearly-acceptable alternatives to hand at the time.

Actual loan agreements are negotiated between the Ministry of Finance (with SPO advice) and ODM (with MEDD/embassy advice). Before that stage is reached MEDD is responsible for helping to turn the project proposal as submitted into a form which can be recommended to the ODM project committee. In the process, the project may undergo various technical, financial and economic appraisals, have a variety of conditions attached to it, and possibly recommendations for related technical assistance. Most of the projects which are submitted have not been subjected to prior rigorous appraisal by the Turks – other than technical or engineering appraisal – and many of their wider implications are usually not well worked out. It can therefore take as long as two years before a request reaches formal consideration in ODM, and after that months will usually elapse before an agreement can be signed. In all the stages MEDD advisers are closely involved.

The SPO also controls requests for technical assistance, by laying down general guidelines and then vetting specific submissions from departments and the private sector. A preliminary list is discussed with the British embassy, which provides hints on the sort of projects acceptable to ODM, and discusses details with MEDD advisers whenever time permits. Some technical assistance projects will have emerged from CENTO Committees, while others are privately inspired by MEDD advisers. A formal list is eventually presented via the Foreign Ministry to the embassy and submitted, with comments from the embassy and MEDD, for approval and action in ODM. Wherever possible, and always for projects nurtured by advisers, MEDD prepares specifications for equipment, or job descriptions and terms of reference for experts requested under aid. The precise terms and conditions are then negotiated with the Turkish Foreign Ministry, within the general terms of the ruling technical assistance agreement between Turkey and Britain. When experts are in post, they become the responsibility of the embassy, but MEDD tries to keep in touch and to give professional support when needed.

In Iran, the normal channel for submitting technical assistance requests is from the International Co-operation Department of each Ministry to the Economic Section for the Foreign Ministry, which, after vetting with the help of the Plan Organisation (PO), passes it on to donor representatives. For most donors the rivalry between Foreign Ministry and the PO, and the multiplicity of ministries (there are five with a direct interest in agriculture, for example) present problems, while requests to CENTO donors go through the CENTO section of the Foreign Ministry, which need not, and often does not, consult with the PO before submitting them to the British embassy.

There is always the danger that projects are undertaken with British help which are not wholeheartedly supported by the PO. It is, therefore, up to the British embassy and MEDD advisers to ensure that all relevant departments of the Iran government co-operate on projects submitted to Britain and particularly that projects nursed by advisers and coming from ministries via the CENTO section of the Foreign Ministry get proper clearance through the PO.

Of the three countries, Jordan has much the simplest procedures. Nearly all projects submitted, both capital and technical, will have been inspired, worked out, or given preliminary clearance, by MEDD advisers in the normal course of their discussions with the National Planning Council and the ministries. Even so, the piloting of projects from start to finish can be as complicated as elsewhere in the Middle East. For example, negotiations dragged on for three years in the case of a phosphate mining project, the mining authorities having changed their minds about the nature and specifications of the project after an initial MEDD appraisal had been positive.

Conclusion

The original description of MEDD as a source of "advice" is clearly only formally correct, and does not adequately convey its total responsibilities. Its role is certainly limited in the all-important processes which determine aid levels to a country, but even here the figure it recommends, particularly to new client countries, tends to carry considerable weight. There is nothing to prevent it, moreover, from inspiring aid requests, particularly for technical assistance from any government in its area; and this device can be important in getting aid funds allocated from London – if only for the simple reason that outright refusal is often politically difficult.

MEDD's most important contribution is in being able to influence aid use within particular countries. Although, formally, MEDD's role is to advise, not to approve, expenditure, in practice ODM in London rarely challenges MEDD's advice on technical and economic grounds (not least because the relevant ODM expertise is in MEDD). ODM "control" over MEDD's activities in project selection is through the standardised project appraisal procedure. Provided that the latter is followed and the conclusions support MEDD, its advice is not over-ruled unless non-developmental factors are important. Therefore, to the extent that MEDD can persuade recipient governments, its views on development, its decisions on priorities, its preferences for particular projects, and its techniques tend to prevail. To this extent MEDD makes aid policy in its area.

Administration in Kenya—
A Study of the rural division of Mbere:

PART II - AGRICULTURAL AND OTHER DEPARTMENTAL STAFF

By DAVID BROKENSHA and JOHN NELLIS-
with assistance from PATRICK IVUTI

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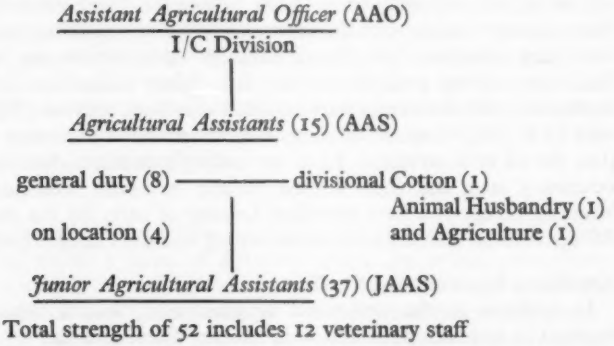
IN Part One* of this article the authors described the principal features of the Mbere division of Embu district, Kenya, and examined the role of the Provincial Administration, in particular the functions performed by the District Officer and his staff, by the Chiefs and by the sub-Chiefs. In this Second Part they continue their study with an examination of departmental endeavours in Mbere, in particular the all-important role of Agricultural and ancillary staff, and in conclusion they seek briefly to consider how far the Kenyan administration is really developmental when confronted with the conflict between tradition and innovation.

Agriculture

The agricultural department is undoubtedly the most important as far as rural development is concerned. Perhaps one should add "providing it has the support of the provincial administration". In Mbere division the department is in the charge of an Assistant Agricultural Officer, trained at Egerton Agricultural College. He heads a large government Unit as shown in the following diagram.



Total strength of 52 includes 12 veterinary staff

*Vide Vol. XIII, No. 4, October 1974, JAO.—Ed.

The AAO carries out a monthly safari programme – all too often curtailed by visits he has to pay to Embu for meetings with senior officials. He tries to visit each of Mbere's Locations once a month and to fit in as many sub-locations as he can. He holds a monthly meeting with his AAs and a general staff meeting two or three times a year. He depends on his AAs for close supervision of the JAAs and he himself judges their effectiveness by the following measurable criteria: number of cotton and banana plots measured and marked; rate of recovery of cotton loans, and the opening up of new agricultural land. Such data would appear in each JAA's monthly report: report writing is regarded as very important at all levels of the agricultural department, from the newest JAA to the Director, and appears to occupy an inordinate amount of time. Most people who have had any close knowledge of agricultural reports regard the data warily, as so much is of necessity based on crude estimates. Nevertheless, the writing of reports continues to take up much time and energy.

The Agricultural Assistant rank includes a few newcomers who have completed an intensive two year course at the Embu Institute of Agriculture, or the Animal Husbandry Training Institute for the veterinary staff. Pay for such graduates is £306 p.a.* if they had a general pass in the East African Certificate of Education, or £342 if they obtained a pass in a special subject. The AAO's scale starts at £708 p.a.; such are the advantages of a slightly better examination pass plus admission to a three year rather than a two year course. It is extremely difficult to rectify the initial disadvantage – and this applies to most entry points in the civil service – no matter how much initiative and competence are shown. If the recommendations of the Ndegwa Commission report (discussed below) are accepted, this may change.

AAs include some who lack the formal education and training of their colleagues, but who have risen from the ranks of JAAs – a feat that today would be virtually impossible. These include some officials who are conscientious and talented, others who are neither.

JAAs are now required to have a minimum of CPE (Certificate of Primary Education, awarded at successful completion of seven years of primary schooling), though again some of the "old-timers" lack much formal education. Attempts to improve the calibre of JAAs by recruiting young men with secondary education have failed: although salary scales exist for these, the funds are seldom available in practice. Salary scales for JAAs (who are stationed at sub-locations) start at Shs. 130/– p.m. without CPE, Shs. 185/– with CPE (The Ndegwa Commission recommended a minimum of Shs. 100/– p.m. for all civil servants). JAAs are mainly generalists, but include twelve veterinary staff and four women trained in home economics. All sub-locations except two have provided housing of sorts for the resident JAAs. All agricultural staff are entitled to twenty-one days annual paid leave.

Ancillary Agricultural Staff

In addition to the authorised establishment, several other people are engaged in agricultural extension in Mbere. These include:

i. The supervisor and 4 instructors employed by the British American

*It should be added that all salary figures given are those for 1971.

Tobacco Company; they actively advise farmers, and help the struggling co-operative society to distribute fertiliser, and equipment needed for tobacco barns. They also buy the leaf, flue cured at Ena and Burley (sun dried) at Kanyuambora.

ii. The one cotton instructor employed by the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board.

iii. Karurumo Trades Institute, a recently-opened village polytechnic, has an AA seconded to it for supervising the popular agricultural courses. Although located just outside Mbere borders, this Salvation Army-run institute is intended to serve both Mbere and Embu Divisions; already a small group has been trained in bee-keeping, and given modern bee-hives.

iv. The Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP)* provides for additional agricultural staff, four of whom have already been posted to the division. Extra proposed SRDP staff include:
five at AAO level;
seven at AA level;
thirteen at JAA level;
plus eight clerks, drivers, mechanics, and a laboratory assistant, making a grand total of thirty-three or an increase of two-thirds in the agricultural staff.

v. Although not resident in Mbere division, some outside officials are influential, notably, of course, the DAO (District Agricultural Officer) who visits infrequently, but who is responsible for recruiting staff, for financial control and, under the PDA (Provincial Director of Agriculture) for general policy. Inevitably he concentrates rather more on Embu division, which has 56 per cent of the district's population in 16 per cent of the area, and which is much richer and agriculturally more attractive, with its tea, coffee, and grade cattle in neat if overcrowded demarcated plots. Also at Embu is a Norwegian agronomist, attached to the Provincial Planning Officer, who is concerned with details of cotton and other agricultural development; another Norwegian specialist visits from Machakos district to supervise cotton trials. The district and provincial range and livestock officers occasionally visit, and are available for advice. (And, since Mbere was chosen as an SRDP area, the University of Nairobi has sent a steady stream of researchers, many specifically interested in one or another aspect of agriculture). So there is a small cadre of technical experts who are involved in Mbere agriculture.

Duties

There is no one manual that sets out clearly the goals of the agricultural department, but rather a series of directives which are issued sporadically by the Provincial Director of Agriculture. We summarise the main duties of the divisional staff under two headings – technical and administrative.

a. TECHNICAL DUTIES vary from year to year, like fashions. At the time of writing, most emphasis is placed on cotton, which means that the staff spends

*See Article on SRDP by J. W. Leach in this Journal, April 1974.—Ed.

more time on promoting cotton production than on any other activity. Technical duties include:

Advising individual farmers on such details as methods and time of clearing, application of fertiliser and/or insecticide, marking and measuring plots, attending and speaking at barazas.

Demonstrating new methods in the fields of farmers who have been specially selected for this purpose.

Persuading farmers to grow more of a particular crop such as cotton. Ancillary activities include advice, exhortation and demonstration on all activities connected with growing cotton: selecting the field, measuring, clearing, stumping, ploughing, planting, thinning, weeding, applying fertiliser, applying insecticide, harvesting, grading, bagging, selling, and finally removing old stalks. In addition, agricultural staff spend much time on the collection of cotton loans.

Helping the 4 K Clubs. These are quite active, but function almost entirely among primary schools. The secondary schools have Young Farmers' Clubs, receiving some attention from the agricultural staff.

Enrolling farmers for courses at Embu Farmers' Training Centre: few courses are aimed at Mbere specifically, and few farmers attend.

(As these notes are meant to be illustrative rather than comprehensive, we omit consideration of veterinary duties.)

b. ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES include three particular functions which call for examination in some detail; responsibility for cotton loans, management of cotton markets and co-operation with other departments.

i. *Cotton Loans* have been available for several years. The details vary annually: in 1969-70 loans were made to 295 Mbere farmers for ploughing and to 523 for insecticides; in 1970-71 140 farmers obtained insecticide valued at 71/– per carton (enough for one acre), and will have to repay 78/– (including 10 per cent interest). Agricultural staff spend what might be considered a disproportionate amount of time on cotton loans, especially as the loan acreage represents only about 5 per cent of the total cotton acreage in the division. The work involves the selection of "good farmers" – including those who have had no previous loans or who have repaid past loans; helping recipients to buy or borrow pumps for spraying insecticide, which may involve staff in physically repairing and transporting pumps; and recovering loans at the end of the season, a highly-unpopular and difficult task.

One wonders whether the whole business of loans should be handled by another agency, and indeed the Mbere SRDP envisages an ingenious system of loans to approved traders, who will then give credit to approved farmers (this may, of course, raise other difficulties). Under this scheme the agricultural staff will be required to complete forms for all applicants for loans, based on the supposedly intimate and accurate knowledge that JAAs have of their local farmers.

ii. *Cotton markets* begin in late August, and continue until October. Buying points are set up by arrangement with the Ginners. During the buying period, many of the agricultural staff are concerned with

publicising the market arrangements and with seeing that enough bags are available for the cotton; they also advise on grading the cotton – this is very important, as grade I sells for Shs. 1/05 per kg, grade II for 50 cts/kg, the latter price hardly paying for expenses; staff collects cotton from isolated villages since the cotton buyers refuse to jeopardise their lorries over the appallingly bad roads; this had the agricultural Land Rover running a shuttle service until it broke down; helping the cotton buyers to organise the market; waylaying farmers after they have received payment to try to recover the loans: as there is competition from other officials collecting tax, or "voluntary" contributions to *harambee* projects, this activity is resented by borrowers. Junior staff has to keep a record of sales made and keep the AA, AAO and DAO informed of how the markets are progressing. The appendix to this article illustrates the varied patterns of duties carried out by JAAs over a two week period in 1971.

iii. *Co-operation with other departments* involves, particularly, the Administration, for the DO often has control over, or at least prior knowledge of any special expenditure in development projects. It also involves the enforcement of rules designed to ensure good agricultural practices, including those relating to:

anti-erosion measures;
control of burning;
prevention of infestation and disease (eg by uprooting all cotton stalks after harvest).

A cursory walk, or even a drive, through almost any part of the division shows that these rules are not being enforced. The reasons are complex, and include: the fact that under the colonial regime, conservation rules were most unpopular, for they were rigidly and at times arbitrarily or unwisely enforced, hence any attempt to enforce them results in the labelling of the officer as "colonialist"; a general ignorance on the part of many farmers of the necessity for the rules; a lack of conviction of the urgency for conservation among JAAs; a refusal, or disinclination, of chiefs or sub-chiefs to prosecute; and the need for the JAA to maintain a harmonious relationship in what is very often his home area.

Main problems facing agricultural staff

Here we catalogue some of the major problems facing the agricultural staff in their efforts to raise productivity in Mbere; we do this not in a critical sense, but to underline the formidable nature of the task. We emphasise that we have generally been favourably impressed by the calibre of staff at all levels in the division, by their good humour, resourcefulness and conscientiousness. We classify the difficulties into four headings:

a. PHYSICAL FACTORS:

Mbere division, although it contains a few well-favoured areas, has a relatively poor physical endowment, in that the soils are variable and the rainfall uncertain. The given situation for the agricultural staff is that light soils, rocky areas, animal and insect pests, droughts, or less frequently, floods are severe handicaps for their work.

b. INFRA-STRUCTURE:

Communications are poor, some roads are exceptionally bad; lack of telephone contact with Embu is another problem; trading centres and markets are rudimentary; co-operative societies are also weak and unstable. The SRDP has proposed that one central farmers' co-operative should serve the whole division, but it seems unlikely that local agreement will be forthcoming. Credit facilities are virtually non-existent.

c. SOCIAL ASPECTS:

It has been common, since early colonial times, for officials (usually those at district or provincial level) to describe the Mbere as conservative peasants whose elders tend to keep them backward. While we are sceptical of the validity of such stereotypes, Mbere farmers, especially in the poorer, drier, areas *are* reluctant to adopt innovations; this is hardly surprising in view of their slender margin, and of the numerous innovations that have failed, yet, there are exceptions. For example cultivation of bananas, introduced only five years ago, has spread rapidly and successfully. Tobacco has also caught on quite well.

Local farmers have a highly-complicated and accurate perception of their environment: their perceptions are, however, usually disregarded by planners.

Women, who play a dominant part in food-crop production, especially in the planting, care of, harvesting, threshing, grinding and preparation of millet, are ignored by the male extension agents.

d. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION:

Finally, all the above problems are compounded by an unwieldy and often ineffective bureaucratic system.

i. *Selection and training of staff;* Although it is the declared aim of government policy to upgrade JAAs, it appears virtually impossible to recruit better-educated staff as financial provision is inadequate. Training courses for low-level staff are often of little value, when there is insufficient formal education.

ii. *Staff housing* is for agriculture, like most other departments, a perennial problem. Not one officer has, at the time of writing, a good house with a regular water supply. JAAs housing depends on the whim and energy of the sub-chief, and on his relations with the chief, who might supply him with prison labour to construct a simple house. Some junior staff do not even live in their sub-location, which makes their efficiency dubious, for it is questionable how readily they cycle or walk five to ten miles a day. Housing is also a critical problem for the additional agricultural staff required for SRDP.

iii. *Transport* is another serious problem. The AAO has at his disposal a Land Rover which is often under repair, and for which he receives forty-four gallons of petrol per month. This allows him about 500 miles, which he has usually driven by mid-month. AAs confirmed in their appointment are eligible for a motor cycle advance if they have a valid licence; as yet no one has taken advantage of this. JAAs get advances to buy bicycles, and receive a flat rate of Shs. 10/– allowance monthly: nearly all have bicycles.

Other bureaucratic problems that can be briefly mentioned include: lack of incentives; the road to promotion from one rank to the next is slow and difficult however competent the officer; over-cumbersome financial control: the AAO cannot even reimburse trifling sums of a few shillings spent by his junior staff in authorised travelling; over-emphasis on one crop (cotton, now) and neglect of other cash and food-crops.

A high proportion of time spent wastefully on preparing for the annual Embu and Nairobi shows. The rewards for such activity – in terms of encouragement to farmers or diffusion of new ideas or techniques – are negligible. In addition, there is the fundamental problem of what Philip Mbithi calls the "message model" when an extension agent diagnoses and prescribes entirely from a specialised and alien viewpoint, while ignoring the "current local social definition of the development situation"[1].

Within the scope of a single article besides the coverage already given to Agriculture, it is only possible to provide a brief resumé of the activities of other departments operating in the Mbere division.

Health

The divisional health assistant (who is incidentally, the only local Mbere man to hold a divisional post) has a staff of four locational health assistants (salary £360 to £390 per year). In addition, nine ungraded health assistants (salary Shs. 225 p.m.) are in the sub-locations. Their duties include: sanitary inspection work – latrines are compulsory for every homestead, meat inspection, health education, inspection of water supplies (wells and streams), inspecting for rats and mosquito larvae, market inspection (for cleanliness, etc.), advice on grave digging and investigating causes of death (where capable of so doing).

Although considerable progress has been made in health education in Kenya, there is no uniform grasp of basic principles of public health. This was indicated early in 1971, when the health department mounted a campaign against cholera: the response to the inoculation campaign was extraordinary, over 7,000 people receiving inoculations in one day in a single location. But little if any notice was taken of the other advice – to boil water, and to maintain a general cleanliness, without which the inoculations are unlikely to be very effective. That such advice is not followed indicates the shortage of water and relative poverty of course, as well as the ignorance of public health requirements.

Medical facilities include a fully-staffed health centre under a medical assistant, who has a staff of two enrolled assistant nurses, one enrolled assistant midwife, one enrolled health assistant visitor, three upgraded nurses, a home visitor, a tuberculosis visitor, and an ambulance (long wheel base Land Rover) driver. There are also three dispensaries each under a dresser. Health centres are in the planning stage. Once again, most medical staff is from outside the division, and experience difficulty over housing.

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[1]Philip M. Mbithi, "The Intervention and Explication Models: their Application as Strategies for Rural Development" paper presented at "Workshop for Strategies for Improving Rural Welfare", June 1971, University of Nairobi.

Education

An Assistant Education Officer, who is stationed at divisional headquarters, Siakago, inspects Mbere's thirty-six primary schools. Twenty of these schools are operated by the Anglican Church, fourteen by the Catholics, and one each by the Salvation Army and by the local Council. Twenty-four schools were "full" primary, with seven standards. In 1970 only seventy-four pupils did well enough in the CPE exam to enter government-aided secondary schools; this is much lower than the national average.

Community Development

The divisional (Community Development Assistant (CDA)) is paid by the government in a range of Shs. 400-600 p.m. She is helped by four locational CDAs, recently upgraded by the County Council to a salary range of Shs. 250-400 p.m. The main emphasis of community development is on self-help projects, particularly on classrooms and teachers' houses for primary schools.

For the year 1970, total cash contributions by the people amounted to nearly Shs. 35,000/– with Shs. 30,000/– coming from government and private sources (mainly from CARE).

The staff, given usual limitations of transport, are also active in literacy groups, women's work, sports, youth work and social work and organising recreation. It is unlikely that CDAs, few in numbers and with very limited resources, are able to have much impact on many people.

Magistracy

The divisional Magistrate is based in Embu division and usually visits Mbere to hear cases, two days each week.

Area Council

The Mbere Area Council consists of ten elected members. The chairman receives a monthly allowance of Shs. 200/–, with Shs. 100/– for the vice-chairman and Shs. 35/85 for others, providing there is an attendance of at least three-quarters of members for that month's meeting(s). The District Officer is an *ex-officio* member, and the Embu County Council sends a representative.

The three committees of the Area Council are Trade and Markets, Finance and General Purpose, and Public Health and Social Services, of which the first is the most active.

Council staff number eleven – one clerk, one typist, three market clerks, one pump operator and five locational community development assistants. The latter, who must have passed CPE, used to receive Shs. 120/– monthly; despite the low wage, fifteen candidates applied for the last vacancy. (This wage was increased, in May 1971, to a minimum of Shs. 250/– p.m.).

The council has an office in the Social Hall at Siakago, which it operates, making no charge for public meetings. The annual budget is about Shs. 40,000/–, most of which goes on salaries.

Other government departments

Several other departments have some sort of connection with Mbere division, either by having a resident work force like the Ministry of Works

(MOW) or a few officers (eg Forestry) or by periodic visits from Embu. Mbere clients also visit Embu district or provincial offices for special purposes. Some of these other departments are:

Department	*Main Functions*	*Notes*
Lands	applies Land Adjudication Act	will continue at least till 1974
MOW	maintains roads, bridges and constructs buildings	employs few Mbere
Game	enforces game laws; protects farmers; trying to establish a new Game Reserve	important in lower areas
Forestry	supervises a forest reserve	—
Co-operatives	supervises local societies	—
Police	law and order; traffic; licences	seldom visit Mbere
Labour	enforces labour regulations	insufficient staff to be effective

Is The Kenyan Bureaucracy Developmental?

We have now presented a fairly comprehensive picture of Government activity in Mbere division. The question is, what are the goals of this process of administration and are they being achieved? The Government's intent at least as stated in the Five Year Plan of 1970-1974, is quite clear:

". . . more impetus to the development process will be obtained by accelerating the shift of emphasis in the work of the provincial administration towards development administration in which the principal objective will be to achieve rapid development to raise the people's welfare. The traditional colonial emphasis on the maintenance of law and order and the collection of taxes will be changed to give additional emphasis to the administration of development. The Administrative machinery must be development minded and adequately informed about the country's development problems in order to seek solutions to these problems at the local level"[2].

At the same time, the post-independence period in Kenya, for a variety of reasons, mainly political, but also geographical, has seen the establishment of a highly-centralised form of government. Indeed the central role of the civil service in Kenyan affairs was emphasised in the Ndegwa Commission Report:

"We therefore consider it to be not only inevitable but essential that the Civil Service should be called upon to assume even greater responsibility for managing the economy and for identifying and solving national problems."[3]

How far, one may ask, is the Kenyan bureaucracy acting in a developmental manner? Or more precisely, are its present activities building a base for future growth? There can be little doubt that the primary emphasis of the Kenyan bureaucracy is, at present, focused on control and stability – on

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[2] *Development Plan* 1970-1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1969), p. 76.

[3] "Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration) 1970-71, p. 21."

firmly establishing the authority and legitimacy of the regime and the state. There is certainly much to be said for this, as stability is a requisite for a non-revolutionary path of socio-economic development. On the other hand, the fear is that such a concentration on stability issues will lead to increased rigidity of administrative procedures and personnel, thereby mitigating against a switch to a developmental orientation in the future.

A call for a major concentration of national resources to be devoted to rural areas was made by the ILO Employment Mission to Kenya,[4] which not only outlined a possible rural development approach, but also recommended a reorganised structure for the agricultural Department. The response of the Kenya Government in its Sessional Paper of May 1973 was much more encouraging than that of other Governments concerned with previous ILO Missions. On the extent to which the Kenya Government now proceeds to implement those parts of the ILO Report which it has accepted, will depend whether the areas such as Mbere will really march forward to a better way of life.

APPENDIX

What Junior Agricultural Extension Staff do. (Based on a questionnaire filled in by 14 JAAs in May 1971, detailing what they did during two weeks.)

	Activity	*Number of man days principally spent on activity*	
ADMINISTRATION	attending seminar	14	
	attending demonstration ..	6	
	writing report	8	
	going to divisional HQ to collect insecticide	4	
	waiting	2	
	sick	11	
	preparing for show	3	
		—	48
EXTENSION	maize	27	
	cotton	22	
	Mexican 142 beans	8	
	beans	6	
	famine reserve crops	6	
	vegetables, bees, castor ..	5	
	general farm visits	15	
	attending baraza	6	
	4K clubs	25	
		—	120

Notes: Although this was a small and unreliable sample, the results give some indications—eg 71 per cent of the time was spent on extension activities; report writing (a fortnightly affair) took half the JAA's a whole day; most saw the good farmers, by their own admission; most had only one activity per day; no indication is given here of travel time, which is considerable.

[4] "Employment, Incomes & Equality, a strategy for increasing productive employment in Kenya", *ILO, Geneva*, 1972.

POSTCRIPT

David Brokensha, who recently re-visited Mbere, gives his impressions of changes that have taken place between August 1971, when he left, and October 1974.

Overall impressions are of a marked increase in money available, in increased mobility and in greater desire for things that money can buy. Although far from a prosperous division, Mbere is stirring, showing the beginnings of more rapid economic development, as is indicated by several indices. First, there is that universal index, of the proportion of buildings with iron roofs: Diana Hunt, who has written two papers[1] on agricultural development in Mbere, estimated that "approximately 18 per cent of Mbere households own at least some corrugated iron roofing"[2], which would be a dramatic increase over a few years. (A factor in the incidence of iron roofs is said to be the difficulty of obtaining thatching grass, in some areas.) Second, another sensitive index is women's clothing; whereas formerly it was rare to see a smartly attired girl or woman, now the contrary is true, even in distant parts of the division. And the well-stocked shelves of the retail shops at Siakago, Kiritiri and Ishiara, with their much wider range of consumer goods, also attest to an increased prosperity. Another striking difference is the number of *matatu* (passenger buses) operating in the division. In 1971 five or six plied for trade in Mbere; now at least twenty are busy taking passengers between major centres. Significantly, many of the operators are from outside the division, a sign that word has spread of the good economic opportunities. One could also mention the greater number of ox-ploughs and of ox-carts, as well as of bicycles. Finally, Mbere undergraduates at the University of Nairobi now number five, as against two in 1971.

Where does the money come from? Here it is difficult to be precise, although several obvious sources suggest themselves. Cash-crops continue to be a major source of income, despite low recent yields of cotton and of tobacco. However, Mexican 142 beans (at shs. 1/45 per kg) and sunflower (at shs. 1/25 per kg) are both attractive crops. Also, many Mbere people reaped an unexpected bonus by having planted sisal some years ago. For a number of years sisal has been fetching a low price as a result of being ousted in world markets by man-made fibres; but now the latter have sharply increased in cost, due to the oil crisis – they are made from petroleum by-products – causing in turn a rise in the sisal fibre price from 60 cents to shs. 3/– per kg. On market days, roads leading to the major markets are thronged with women carrying bulging sacks of sisal fibre. Livestock sales are another profitable source of income, especially as prices have at least doubled. (Kenya, as elsewhere, has experienced severe inflation, as the author found even at a tiny remote hamlet on the River Tana, where the ferryman had increased his charge for a river crossing in his dug-out canoe, from 50 cents to one shilling, a 100 per cent rise.) Mbere men still migrate out of

[1]Diana M. Hunt (a) "Agricultural Innovation in Mbere". *Working Paper No* 166, 1974, and (b) "Resource Use in a Medium Potential Area: The Mbere Rural Economy". *Working Paper No* 180, 1974. Both from the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi.

[2]D. Hunt, 1974, *op cit* (b), p. 43.

the district in search of employment, so that their remittances home represent another source of wealth, as does the sale of land; some Mbere men have already sold their land, indeed, almost as soon as they received title, the buyers often being outsiders. This has caused land prices to rise very sharply – for example, near Siakago from shs. 250/– to about shs. 800/– per acre. Finally, the SRDP (Special Rural Development Programme) has undoubtedly put much money into circulation. By 1977, NORAD (the Norwegian Development Agency which is largely responsible for financing SRDP in Mbere) expects to have spent shs. 17 million – a large part of this will have been spent in the Mbere division, especially on labour, including that employed on digging trenches for a new piped water supply. The original plan for voluntary labour had to be abandoned, another sign of increased economic development, for free communal labour is usually a casualty of better economic conditions. One chief, in talking about the various sources of income, insisted that there has also been a change of attitude, and that now people planned their expenditure in more "rational" terms, rather than indulging in whimsical or impulsive spending.

The next question is, to what extent did the government departments in Mbere influence economic changes? Before attempting an answer, it will help to consider further changes, and some continuities. As was to be expected, there have been many changes of personnel, all seven divisional heads having been replaced at least once. One of the four chiefs was promoted to another division, and his successor was appointed from a panel of three names submitted to the Minister. Additional staff have been added, for bureaucracies seldom retrench. Many (at least ten) SRDP agricultural staff are employed; a Kenya Police post, with five men, was established at Siakago early in 1974; a large land adjudication staff is working, efficiently and smoothly, with the programme of giving individual title, a project that will result in tremendous eventual social changes[3] by the time it is completed in 1977. Siakago is now connected to the outside world by telephone, and new buildings have appeared – staff houses, government offices, an agri-service station, the much-needed Kiambere Health Centre, a village polytechnic and a carpentry school. The SRDP has resulted in a welcome improvement in the road system, existing roads being upgraded and new road links built; good communications are, of course, one of the best spurs for economic development. Unfortunately other aspects of SRDP have been less successful – the water programme is sadly behind schedule, the group ranches have scarcely begun, and many of the agricultural proposals have not worked out as well as had been hoped.

One of the most important changes has been the abolition of GPT (Graduated Personal Tax) in 1974. Although chiefs and sub-chiefs are still collecting arrears from 1973, they expect to be increasingly more free to devote their time for development projects. They are still distracted by non-development tasks, such as preparing for the Annual Embu Show, or – at the time this postscript is being written – supervising the heated campaigns now under way for the forthcoming National Elections. In agriculture, the

[3]For more details, see David Brokensha and Jack Glazier, "Land Reform Among the Mbere of Central Kenya", *Africa*, Vol. XL III, No. 3, July 1973, pp. 182-206.

same basic approaches to expansion are followed, despite the mounting evidence of the dubious value of much that is done. Diana Hunt, for example, concludes that "given the . . . very uncertain decision-making environment for the farmer, with a high risk of crop failure, only the relatively wealthy can afford to take the risks of shifting resources" as recommended by extension staff[4]. She makes a plea for more non-farm activities to be considered, rather than continuing the search for a sort of magical answer in one or two crops.

Another important change should be noted: with more pressure on good land, there is a widespread practice of cultivating or burning on steep slopes, of cutting mature trees close to streams, of uncontrolled charcoal burning with no replanting, and many other examples of a rash and ominous disregard for basic conservation principles in the use of natural resources.

To return to the question of the relationship of government activities to development, it seems that there is no clear answer, no simple line of causation, as development is always the result of a "package", and government's role is often an indirect one.

Both the Government of Kenya (in numerous reports and commission statements) and several academic observers have emphasised the need for a new type of administrative structure if rural development is to be more effectively promoted. In a thoughtful recent publication[5], several authors deal with this problem. Jon Morris (who bases his remarks in part on his extensive research experience in Mbere) writes of the need for agricultural extension to abandon its custodial role and he urges "a more flexible and realistic use of the very great administrative resources which are already deployed within the rural sector"[6]. And Geoffrey Kuria describes the District Officer as a "Colonial shell" who needs to be given "a significant role in planning for economic development"[7]. Despite our criticisms, the writer and his co-author share the view that there *are* great administrative resources in rural Kenya; we stress that even now the administrative structure does work – which is by no means the case in all countries – although it could certainly be improved.

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[4]D. Hunt, *op cit* (a).

[5]David K. Leonard (ed.) *Rural Administration in Kenya*, East African Literature Bureau, 1973.

[6]Leonard (ed.), *op cit*, p. 131.

[7]Leonard (ed.), *op cit*, p. 51.

A New Kind of Malaysian?

A sociological view of the Federal Land Development Authority

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A SCHOOLTEACHER in Johor once observed that there were now three kinds of Malaysian: the village Malaysian, the urban Malaysian, and the settlement-scheme Malaysian. The notion that there is such a tripartite distinction of identities is gaining some currency, providing a salient contrast to the racial pluralism which has for so long been the conventional categorisation of the Malaysian population. That the "settler" (*peneroka*) should have achieved such prominence is indeed a plaudit for national planning and the skill with which land development has been executed. It also suggests that some study and evaluation of this new identity is now timely. What, in sociological terms, is distinctive about the settler? Of more immediate practical significance – what processes are generating this new Malaysian? To what extent are they *conscious* processes, and are they, in policy terms, desirable?

In many ways the settlement schemes manifestly occupy a medial position between villages and towns. The "central villages" of the schemes look more like peri-urban housing areas than the conventional Malay *kampong* (village), yet in other ways they are conspicuously rural, and are often surrounded by miles of virgin forest. The villager moving into the scheme finds a rigidly-planned and highly-technical way of life, with an elaborate and very "modern" co-operative work system, yet he remains basically a farmer. The prominence of the settlement scheme Malaysians is probably as much a matter of numbers as of their political importance and their much-publicised role in national development. The Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) now has 112 schemes scattered throughout western Malaysia, involving a total of 722 square miles of developed land. FLDA settlers now constitute a considerable 1.6 per cent of the west Malaysian population.

Since its establishment some 15 years ago, the FLDA has become one of the most experienced and technically advanced organisations of its kind in the world. Closely involved in both Malaysia Plans the FLDA schemes respond to a national need to re-locate parts of a growing population, to tackle a rate of rural and urban unemployment as high as 7 per cent, and to assist the indigenous (*Bumiputra*) segment of the population to acquire a fairer share of national wealth. The schemes are also seen as satisfying land hunger by re-locating rural population and bringing more jungle land into agricultural use. In a wider context they are seen as a good investment for

[1]The author would like to express his gratitude to the sponsors and organisers of his visit to Malaysia in the summer of 1972, the Overseas Development Administration and the British Council. He also wishes to acknowledge an obvious debt of gratitude to the many officers of the FLDA and the SLDB who made his stay in Malaysia both instructive and enjoyable.

the government, both domestically in loan repayments and in fiscal returns, and in foreign exchange earnings. The land settlement schemes are also seen in more altruistic terms as generating "social improvements", the provision of new infrastructure in planned communities. In this regard the land development programme has undoubtedly extended communications, education, health, recreational and other facilities into rural Malaysia. An important political attraction is the tidy concentration of population provided by the schemes; in the post-war Emergency the security forces found the dispersed pattern of Malay settlement a major hazard.

An FLDA brochure[2] singles out three other particular "desirable situations in the socio-economic and political sphere": the restriction of land fragmentation by rigid rules of transference, the ease with which law and order may be maintained in the central villages, and "a change in the sense of values". On this last point the brochure observes: "the establishment of new communities in a new environment provides an opportunity for people to remould and re-orientate ideas and ways of living. Traditional systems, both economic and social, tend to break down more readily. There is scope for replacing these systems with systems which are more in harmony with national objectives for example, leadership and status are more likely to be based on ability and social discipline is more likely to be orientated towards economic objectives". The brochure continues: "the point to remember, however, is that a land settlement programme of this nature is basically motivated by social ideals and therefore, has popular appeal. Therein lies the difficulty. Social issues may completely swamp its economic viability". The suggestion that the FLDA puts cash before people is an unfair one, nevertheless it is apparent that in its organisation, economic and technical interests have been comprehensively represented while attention to human relations has only recently been given any emphasis. There can now be few FLDA officers who would disagree that sociological expertise is urgently required.

After the Second World War small land development schemes began to appear in various Malay states, each in the charge of the district administrator. The Federal Land Development Authority was started in 1957 to rationalise the control of these schemes and to establish new ones. The authority now manages 112 schemes involving more than 22,000 settlers and 426,000 acres. The rate of development has been spectacular: in 1970 the FLDA developed 51,561 acres on a federal government budget of M$83,058,000*. Roughly half of the schemes are devoted to rubber, the remainder, more recently planned, to oil palm. This change reflects the

[2]Reference has been made, in composing this article, to the following unpublished papers, kindly provided by the FLDA: *The role of land settlement in the economic development of West Malaysia* (undated). *Land settlement schemes in Malaysia* (undated). *The Federal Land Development Authority, Malaysia* (undated). Reference has also been made to the following: Federal Land Development Authority, *Annual reports*, 1965-1970. Government of Malaysia, *Second Malaysia Plan*, Kuala Lumpur, 1971. *Gerakan Pembaharuan, Pambangunan Masharakat*, Kuala Lumpur, 1972. Government of the Federation of Malaya, *The land development ordinance* No. 20 of 1956. Malaysian Centre for Development Studies, *Report on sixth international seminar on development*, 26 July-1 August, 1971, Kuala Lumpur, 1972. Tan Sri Taib bin Haji Andak, *Land development in Malaysia under the Federal Land Development Authority*, Kuala Lumpur 1966.

**Roughly M*$5.63—£1.—Ed.

decline in the price of rubber and the recent very high price f.o.b. of around £100 per ton for palm oil.

The FLDA is organised comprehensively at three levels, the head office in Kuala Lumpur, the regional offices and the individual project and scheme offices. Central office organisation reflects the enduring importance of technical considerations in the FLDA exercise. In addition to the main Field Administration Division, led by the Deputy Director General, there are separate Engineering, Budget and Planning, Finance, Research, Marketing and Management Services Departments. The Settler Development Division, set up only in 1967, is a relatively minor unit in the Settler Department of the Field Administration Division. An FLDA pamphlet observes that "one of the shortcomings of the FLDA programmes in the earlier years was that insufficient attention was paid to the community development aspect. This has resulted in the settler community being not always able to absorb the drastic change in their working regimen and economic environment". The pamphlet goes on to lament the shortage of skilled manpower which has inhibited organisational expansion of the Settler Development Department. The regional offices represent a significant devolution of central control, reflecting planning policy that schemes should in future be established in regional concentrations like the Kulai complex in Johor or the vast Jengka Triangle development project in Pahan, rather than the scattered development which has taken place hitherto.

The FLDA takes some pride in the "package deal" it offers the settlers. Four to six hundred families are settled in a central village of about 300 acres, small wooden houses being provided in quarter-acre lots. The projected village contains a full range of infrastructure facilities, some provided by FLDA (offices, processing plant, community centre, etc.), others such as the schools, mosque, clinic and roads being provided by other public bodies. The main crop areas of about 3,200 acres, reckoned on the basis of about 10 acres per household, surround the central village, with a further 1,000 acres or more being held in reserve where possible for future growth requirements. Until recently, 2 acres of the 10 acre allowance has been made over to each farmer for subsistence cultivation, but an unenthusiastic settler response has prompted the FLDA to re-allocate this land to main-crop production. On the rubber scheme each settler holds or is scheduled to receive a specific plot; the nature of efficient oil-palm cultivation has prompted the FLDA to favour co-operative working of the crop, each settler receiving a notional 10-acre share. The FLDA schemes are developed in four or five annual *phases*, each phase involving 100 or more settlers, making for a progressive build-up of crops and population. In the oil palm schemes there is a further subdivision into *blocks*, varying in number from two to about eight per phase. Experiments in the Soeharto oil palm scheme have suggested that blocks of 15-20 settlers make effective autonomous units for managing the crop, providing a framework within which individual economic incentives and the sanctions of communal responsibility may both operate constructively.

The process of settler selection leaves its imprint on developing community organisation in a way which no sociologist could overlook. Over time, the FLDA has devised a sophisticated system for controlling and standardising

admission procedures. It is important to understand that recruitment involves no arm-twisting; in 1972 there was a waiting-list of 15,000 potential settlers and further recruitment has been suspended indefinitely until this backlog is dealt with. There is a dropout rate of little more than 1.5 per cent, which again reflects quite handsomely on the success of the FLDA. With no shortage of applicants the FLDA has been able to select within quite narrow limits according to its specification of the ideal settler. Candidates are evaluated on a points system assessing *suitability* and *need*. The modal settler is young (26): "the objective here" according to an FLDA pamphlet, "is to select people who are physically vigorous and will be able to make effective labour contribution for the next twenty years or so. This is especially important in the context of the settler's loan repayment obligations which extend for 15 years after his rubber and oil palm matures". Points are also awarded for agriculture or trade skills, and the size of the family he is supporting. Bachelors are excluded, one policy in which I feel sure that FLDA is mistaken, future prospects being at least as important as present circumstances. Preference is also given to applicants who are landless or who hold up to two acres. These criteria are disregarded only in the case of the many servicemen leaving the security forces each year. A consequence of these selection procedures is a remarkably homogeneous population. To an anthropologist familiar with "natural" villages it is extraordinary to find a community virtually without old folk and the physically and mentally abnormal. This is all to the good, one progressive settler maintained, because the elderly are so often reactionary and "follow the old customs while we follow the modern style". The schemes also swarm with children (a man with 2 to 4 receiving selection preference), inflating demands for educational facilities. The asymmetrical composition of the settler communities presages a future which is not altogether attractive, and this is one area in which some careful sociological projections could be of immediate value. With a large proportion of settler offspring preferring to quit the schemes, the worst which can be imagined is that simultaneous ageing of the homogeneous population and the main crop will turn the schemes into impoverished geriatric settlements.

The predominantly rural origins of the settlers has assured that the majority are "*Bumiputra*" (the mainly Malay indigenes), with a few Indians from estate and plantation labour forces, but hardly any Chinese. The persistent emphasis on homogeneity and equality is reflected in the process by which each settler is established in his "package deal". While he is working on the immature main crop he receives M$69.90 a month. When the trees or palms in his phase come to fruition the FLDA costs are reclaimed from him at the rate of M$1,806 per annum over a period of at least 12 years, plus 6½ per cent interest. Where the block system of share-cropping does not apply, the settler works in effect as an FLDA employee, paid on a piecework basis but also receiving a dividend of his phase's surplus over expenditure. Virtually all initial phases of oil palm schemes operate on this "FLDA system", which has been likened to conventional private estate operation. Control of labour inputs by the scheme manager is assured by FLDA rules, the whole scheme mustering, for example, at 5.15-5.30 a.m. every day for the allotment of tasks. These are supervised by trained Field Assistants, two or more to a phase, and "mandors" co-opted from the settlers.

As the many visitors which it receives would indicate, the FLDA has provided a model for land settlement schemes in other developing countries. Sarawak and Sabah, in East Malaysia, have both applied the FLDA experience, the latter with more obvious success than the former. In fact, for a short period (1964-65), land development in Sarawak was taken over by FLDA, but land tenure problems proved intractable to its systems and the effort was abandoned. Although several schemes progressed in the First and Second Divisions and in the north-east near Miri under the aegis of the State Development Finance Corporation, a fully organised programme has had to wait for the creation of the Sarawak Land Development Board in 1972. The SLDB has set as a target the development of 200,000 acres in fifteen years, concentrating immediately on the proposed Miri-Bintulu development programme. A total of 25,420 acres has already been opened up, including the four new oil palm schemes commenced since 1969 south of Miri. The two main problems confronting land development in Sarawak are the extensive slash-and-burn land use patterns of the indigenous peoples, and the incongruence of the FLDA settlement model with indigenous ideas of community organisation. These make the establishment and control of the physical limits of the scheme very difficult, and the adjustment of a settler population problematic. The Lambir rubber scheme seems to have suffered all the trials and tribulations which may befall a pioneering project, and while trying to put things to rights the SLDB has now come to regard it largely as a source of experience. Fifty-six out of the 174 settlers do not work on their land, twenty-four are not even resident, and with two full phases of the scheme mature, only 37 settlers tap their trees. The scheme boasts a sizable longhouse, built by the management; this reflects an important architectural problem which is still apparently unresolved. The longhouse is the impressive physical structure of the community for the Iban, Kenyah and associated peoples, a style radically different from the small, separate wooden units being constructed by the SLDB. Expressly discomfitted by the latter, the Iban on the Lambir scheme persuaded management that architecture approximating to their own would be more appropriate. It is, of course, to problems such as these that a sociologist attached to the SLDB could usefully address himself. However, the gravity of these problems in Sarawak is matched by an acute shortage of personnel, a situation which, along with the fact that it must depend to a large extent on winning over FLDA officers, weakens the SLDB's capacity for devising solutions appropriate to regional needs.

FLDA SCHEMES IN THE KULAI COMPLEX

Scheme	*Date Established*	*Number of Settler Families*	*Total Population*	*Acreage*
Taib Andak ..	1960	375	3,328	6,175
Pasir Raja	1962	360	2,419	4,377
Bukit Besar ..	1963	275	2,054	4,615
Sungai Sayong ..	1964	365	4,532	5,310
Bukit Ramun ..	1965	275	2,054	4,050
KULAI TOTALS ..		1,650	14,318	24,527

The accompanying table illustrates the development of the FLDA's Kulai Complex in Johor. The present writer spent three weeks in the complex in August and September 1972, living in the Bukit Besar scheme. The distinctiveness of the settler's world impresses itself on the visitor very forcibly. From an observation platform on a nearby hill one may look out over an immense, symmetrical expanse of green oil palms, broken only by the central villages, the excellent metalled roads, the main reservoir and the oil extraction plant, conspicuous for its smoke, noise and effluents. The forest, from which these extensive plantations were claimed, is still visible on the horizon. Bukit Besar consists of ranks of identical wooden houses standing along networks of red earth roads. Dominating features are a hilltop mosque with a shining aluminium minaret, the FLDA office complex, the police post with its communications antennae, and the currently rather bare central reservation which is a focus for future commercial and communal building. This new environment bears, above all else, the imprint of rigorous planning. One settler remarked that newcomers often get lost in the central village itself, not to mention the labyrinthine sprawl of plantation access tracks; as an ex-serviceman, his military training gave him, he felt, some advantage over his fellow settlers in finding his way about in such undifferentiated topology. A junior FLDA officer once remarked that the regularity of planning could make it difficult to remember in which scheme one was working.

The Bukit Besar settlers come from all over West Malaysia and Singapore, from Melaka, Batu Pahan and Johor State itself. According to one community leader a spirit of good-neighbourliness prevailed, depending to a large extent on the conscious effort of the settlers: "We must know how to make ourselves suitable to each other" (*sic*). Inevitably, the interests binding recent settlers to the scheme are essentially economic, and grumbles are usually about money. Few grow food crops, enthusiasm for this after a day's work on the main crop being understandably low. Satisfaction with the M$150 or so (net) a settler may expect to earn is inevitably a function of accustomed living standards. It seems that ex-servicemen feel relatively more deprived than the young men from the small villages. Nevertheless it is common for leadership to be vested in ex-servicemen, mainly because of their greater literacy but also because of their greater age. The writer came to know one ex-serviceman in Bukit Besar quite well (because he spoke English): his education, mature years and experience in "dealing with men" cut him out well for the position of elected block leader and mandor. He had joined the scheme on the strength of inflated rumours about the financial rewards awaiting FLDA settlers, but was now struggling to make ends meet. He made a nice distinction between his sense of integration among his neighbours and his feelings of impermanence. Apologising for the lack of furniture in his house he explained "we are picnicking here". He said that sometimes at night he would wake up and ask himself incredulously "what in the name of God am I doing here?" He was the elected leader of one of the two blocks in his phase, responsible for 62 households. He was regarded, among these people, as something very close to the conventional village chief, an adviser and settler of minor disputes, and intermediary with the FLDA authorities. As a mandor he earned M$5 a day in addition to a small crop dividend,

"for going round with a paper and pencil". Like the other mandors he was obliged to spend an hour every afternoon completing reports on the complicated work schedules.

The FLDA has discovered the dilemma which has come to characterise settlement schemes elsewhere: there is a desire on the one hand to stimulate effective leadership embodying genuine responsibility to the people, while on the other hand there is a desire to suppress embarrassing political action from the settlers. Expression of political interests within the schemes appears to be quite lively, which is as it should be. The administration most specifically mistrusts political party activities, and views the prospect of elections with foreboding, if only because they upset the orderly regime of the schemes. Senior FLDA officers seem aware of the negligible long-term value of puppet leaders, however useful they may be immediately. Apparently there is a tendency for a "Big Man" to emerge in a scheme or group of schemes, who often develops a valuable sense of political responsibility to "his people" and makes demands on the political acumen of the FLDA officials in a way which is not entirely unsalutory.

The most important institutional framework within which the settlers meet management has been the Jawatan Kuasa Kamajuan Ranchangan (JKKR), the scheme council. This has recently been renamed Majlis Pembangunan Kemajuan Ranchangan (MPKR); apparently "Jawatan Kuasa" has the unegalitarian connotations of "authority holders" which the FLDA finds inappropriate. The MPKR includes the scheme manager as chairman, the principal FLDA officers, the school headmasters, the police officer in charge, the Imam, the leaders of the women's and youth organisations and the block leaders, the principal representatives of settlers' interests. These settler representatives are obliged to make reports on the activities of each block to the monthly meetings of the MPKR and may, where they are not inhibited, advocate the interests of their constituents keenly. It is clear that the FLDA has made greater progress with the development of community council organisation than has been made in the country at large. Within its formal framework the FLDA has been able to standardise representational procedure, while members of the community councils in the rest of rural Malaysia are still co-opted by prior authority. Where they operate as intended the MPKRs are clearly not simply a legitimising mechanism, a rubber stamp for the FLDA. Nevertheless, the devolution of authority from the FLDA (without which the present system of settler representation could not hope to survive) must be the subject of close study and experimentation if the future transfer of responsibility for the scheme to the people is to be a reality.

The Settler Development Division has undoubtedly established itself as an important unit with the FLDA. At every level it appears both conscientious and inventive; in the scheme the many lady Settler Development Officers have been giving sterling service in helping families to adapt to their new surroundings and in improving standards of health and welfare. Within the SDD there is a lively awareness of the pressing need for human as opposed to technical planning in the FLDA schemes. Energetic efforts are being made to initiate new activities and settler organisations; there is, for example,

an elaborate FLDA-wide Koran reading contest. Less solemn entertainment in the Sungai Sayong scheme is provided by a proficient and well-equipped pop group, while intellectual stimulus may be found in the scheme's library or newly-established Writer's Corner. The verve of the SDD extends to a number of buzzwords[3]: "strategic approach", "*meshuarat*" (discussion), "dialogue", *gotong royona* (working together) and so on. It may be suggested that fostering indigenous organisations among the settlers is at least as important as introducing exogenous institutions. There is some tendency, by no means peculiar to the FLDA, to regard institutions developed or proposed by settlers themselves as inherently bad or politically disruptive; yet it is probable that such institutions are more viable than many created by the FLDA, being sustained by values and interests proper to the people themselves. The importance of rotating credit and mutual assurance funds in this part of the world is well documented, but according to some FLDA scheme managers they are regarded as disruptive, as they generate pockets of political activity and interfere with the delicate balance of economic relationships among the settlers. Nevertheless, settlers themselves speak emphatically of the value of such associations, particularly the mortuary funds (*Khairiat Kematian*) which provides an important sense of security in an uncertain environment. The very fact that they are *organisations* is significant. They are emerging patterns of indigenous relationships; they are, in a word, authentic. In the process of transition from FLDA control it is on these institutions more than any other that the future of the community will depend.

In the light of such considerations, it is interesting to discover something of the social and political identities which have become established among settlers on the scheme. "Ranchangan" (scheme) is the term used by everyone including the settlers, a designation which reasserts the village/scheme/city distinction. Students from the Department of Sociology in the University of Malaya who had worked on two FLDA schemes reported quite a strong sense of intra-scheme solidarity. A Bukit Besar settler, asked what he thought would become of the scheme in the future, said he foresaw not a village (*kampong*) but continued growth into a town (*bandar*). It was surprising to discover on the Bukit Permai rubber scheme that the component *phases* were being given *village* names by the settlers: Kampong Bahru (New Village), Kampong Balai Rayat (Community Centre Village). One scheme manager observed that the FLDA colour coding used extensively to distinguish between phases had been adopted as football team liveries; he viewed this with some misgivings, fearing that intra-scheme rivalries might "get out of control". The most commonly voiced external criticism of FLDA operations is that settlers are over-organised, even regimented (or, as one scholarly critic put it, there is "too much pre-structuring of interaction"). The mustering drills in particular prompt some to say that the FLDA is not developing communities so much as the old-fashioned type of estate. For its part the FLDA would insist with some justice that such procedures are necessary to secure the discipline on which the economic success of the schemes must depend.

[3]A buzzword makes a pleasing noise, and its administrative value tends to depend on the fact that its meaning is inexact.

At the moment fears are expressed about dropping-out and drug-taking among the youth, a prominent section of the community, and much of the Settler Development Division's efforts are directed to these problems. It is encouraging to see that there is an awareness among Settler Development Officers that long-term success may have little to do with immediate expediencies, and that solutions should not always be sought in terms of what is convenient for FLDA management.

As each FLDA scheme changes from an essentially technical to an essentially human exercise, so the extremely important role of manager changes. Trained in agriculture, the manager is often disturbed to find how much of his time he must devote to social administration, so much so that on established schemes his role is increasingly being likened to that of the rural district administrative officer. Confronted with political, educational, or medical problems, some managers may feel that they are obliged to perform functions for which their training has left them ill-equipped. With this problem in mind, the FLDA is making efforts to modify the training of managers and field assistants on a theme of "dual function". The field assistants, allocated two or three to a settlement phase, are now expected to perform social development tasks as part of their working routine.

These role changes are consequences of the development process set in train by the FLDA, a process the social concomitants of which are still very imprecisely understood. There is much about the temporal framework of FLDA operations which may appear to contradict the normal developmental progress of a human community. Such processes as land subdivision are rigorously disallowed, and opportunities for the local settlement of settler offspring seem very limited. The equal and homogeneous settler population favoured by the FLDA will be approaching old age, apparently without the consolation of local family extension, just as the main crop on the hills around them reaches the end of its 20-25 year lifespan and some years after the FLDA is scheduled to relinquish control. It seems clear that the nature of this transition must increasingly preoccupy the FLDA planners, on whom the settlers, with some justice, place the onus for the future. It seems that one important change which must be made is a departure from notions of homogeneity, if not equality, in order that each scheme may transform itself into a community, a village or a town, owing in the long run more to its own internal processes than to structures standardised by a national bureaucratic organisation. Decentralisation within the FLDA organisation has made important steps in this direction, and among its officers there is a growing sensitivity to these questions of transition. Pride in the very real success of the FLDA undertaking should not be allowed to promote ideas of the distinctiveness of the scheme (*ranchangan*), or the settler (*peneroka*) in Malaysian society. The rational aspiration is, surely, that such distinctions should dissolve in the much wider pattern of national development.

Reflections on a Putative History of the Colonial Administrative Service

A Review Article by A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE

Senior Research Fellow in African Studies at St. Antony's College, Oxford

SOME day someone will somehow write the history of Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service . . . maybe. Having broadly contemplated the task ten years ago, and then felt hugely relieved at the chance to suggest the time was not ripe rather than acknowledge the truth that the task was too great, I remain doubtful whether anyone can (will? should?) yet write the definitive history of the Colonial Service. However, what might be embarked on in the immediate years ahead is progressively to lay the foundation for a history of the Colonial Administrative Service. With the attractive archive now gathered in Rhodes House Library under the auspices of the Oxford Colonial Records Project – its fine record of a salvage operation nobly conceived and put into action under the directorship of J. J. Tawney in the nick of time, as a glance at the obituaries in *The Times* reminds us with regrettable regularity – and its supplementary material of nearly a hundred tape-recorded interviews with Secretaries of State, Governors and Provincial Commissioners (and a handful of District Officers who stayed the course and a few Cadets who neither did nor wished to), the prospects of such an undertaking have advanced from the realm of the quite impossible to the borders of the not improbable.

Not that the Oxford Colonial Records Project collection is the full archive by a long chalk. The previous documentation is too extensive to allow us room here for more than the briefest of mentions. To add to the indispensable Furse memoir and the Robert Heussler saga of *The British in Northern Nigeria* and *British Tanganyika: an essay and documents on British administration* (not forgetting his study of the administrator in the making at Oxbridge, *Yesterday's Rulers*, and his current history of the Malayan Civil Service), there are the several books of Sir Charles Jeffries, from his *The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service* through *Partners for Progress* and *Transfer of Power* to his administrative memoir *Whitehall and the Colonial Service*. Then there are records of the Personnel Division of the old Colonial Office which includes the personal file of every administrative officer, together allowing the construction of intimate career profiles of any service, grade, intake or individual that you will. Again, there are the collected annual reports of each colony's administrative provinces, putting the flesh on the bones of Government House despatches and Colonial Office directives. Locally, there are memoranda and memoirs by the score, commissions and committees, district notebooks and despatches, blue books and white papers and red-taped filejackets, circulars, gazetteers and touring reports; and even retrospective third-party theses, far removed in time and place. Their number is legion. Furthermore, because this writer for one feels strongly

that to end the history of the Colonial Administrative Service with the hauling down of the Union Jack would be to tell only half the story, there is an impressive and important sub-archive on the story of the Africanisation of the senior cadres of the bureaucracy and the deliberate training therefor. Moreover, there is the creative literature conspicuously, of course, of Joyce Cary, but also of Somerset Maugham and Hugh Clifford; of Herbert Best and Ian Brook and, for better or for worse, of Edgar Wallace; of *Major Dane's Garden*, *The Walled City*, *Harama* and *The Consul at Sunset;* and of Chinua Achebe, T. M. Aluko and Adaora Ulasi, too, writing of the archetypal District Officer from another, inescapable and indispensable, angle.

Finally – if such a finite term is possible within the richness of the Colonial Administrative Service archive – there is the biographical and autobiographical record, once again potentially of extreme value. Along this particular bookshelf, the latter genre outdistances the former. Among Governors, for instance, the researcher is struck at once not so much by those who have achieved the status of a standard biographical study – one thinks immediately of Margery Perham's definitive portrait of Lord Lugard and K. D. D. Henderson's fine memorial to Sir Douglas Newbold; of R. E. Wraith's significant writing on Guggisberg and that of Roland Oliver on H. H. Johnston or the recent attempt to portray Lord Twining – as by those whose biographies would mean so much in Colonial Service history: Excellencies *par excellence* like Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Donald Cameron or My Lord Milverton and Sir Philip Mitchell, and such artists of decolonisation as Sir Charles Arden-Clarke and Sir Andrew Cohen (both of whose biographies are now in hand) or Lord Caradon, Sir Richard Turnbull and Sir Maurice Dorman. We are slightly better off when we come to the autobiographical record, for here gubernatorial reminiscences like Sir Arthur Grimble's *A Pattern of Islands* and Sir Alan Burns's *Colonial Civil Servant*, Sir Philip Mitchell's *African Afterthoughts* and Sir Charles Dundas's *African Crossroads*, or those of Sir Geoffrey Archer and Sir Hesketh Bell, of Sir Harry Luke and Sir Bryan Sharwood Smith, to name but a handful of worthwhile memoirs, can be set beside the worm's eye view from far beyond Government House, for example, such delightful cameos of the administrator at work as K. G. Bradley's *Diary of a District Officer* or his *Once a District Officer;* Darrell Bates's *The Mango and the Palm* and J. C. Cairns' *Bush and Boma;* the recollections of Leonard Woolf and George Orwell; J. H. Smith's *Colonial Cadet*, Richard Wyndham's *The Gentle Savage*, or Richard Oakley's *Treks and Palavers;* or those by Charles Chenevix-Trench, R. O. Hennings and Stanhope White or, from the distaff side, by Lady Clifford and Laura Boyle.

If the Colonial Administrative Service's would-be-historian simply adopts the biographical approach favoured by Philip Woodruff in his masterly tribute to the men who ruled India, with its impressionistic imperative of composing the story "by sights, scents, sounds and the lives of individual men . . . leaving out a hundred and passing on ruthlessly to the next"; and if the Service attracts the same quality of brilliance as that which characterises the authorship of his two-volume memorial to the Indian Civil Service (and, as I write, his no less magnificent tribute to the Indian

Army, *A Matter of Honour*), then it, too, may one day enjoy the tribute it deserves when, like the Founders and the Guardians before him, the Colonial Administrator is judged "not by his worst so much as by his best, and in the end not even by his best but by what he aimed at".

* * *

These reflections on the implications of a putative Service history, if not of Her Majesty's Oversea Civil Service then of the Colonial Administrative Service, are prompted by reading three books that arrived simultaneously for review*. Each of them furnishes more grist to our hypothetical historian's mill. And if, as is the nature of grist, there is a measure of chaff mixed up with the wheat then that is no more than an accurate portrayal of what the typical District Officer's life was: equal parts routine chores, exceptional responsibility, and incomparable (and today unrepeatable) experience.

Sir James Robertson brings an atypical dimension to his career in African administration, for he spent over thirty years in the Sudan Political Service before ending his career – his second career, for he had already retired from the Sudan in 1953 – as Governor-General of Nigeria from 1955 to 1960. The opening pages of Sir James's entertaining autobiography present in microcosm the origins and attitudes of so many members of that legendary service in the 'Land of Blacks ruled by Blues'. Unfortunately, he does not include the tale he once told me, of how he had refused to sail from Tilbury on the day the Sudan Government directed because on that particular Saturday in November there was a Rugger international which he had every intention of watching at Murrayfield . . . and did! Unusually among those who end up in Government House, Sir James spent the first twenty years of his service in the Provinces. As with Sharwood Smith in Northern Nigeria, there were many among his colleagues, co-evals and juniors alike, who looked on him as pre-eminently *the* District Commissioner, far, far happier in the saddle than in the secretariat; and in both cases, just a few who, remarking that here was a man not posted to the Secretariat for so long, did not readily perceive that here indeed was a man with a governor's plumes in his saddlebag. In Sir James's farewell to the provinces on his transfer to Khartoum in 1941 we see the *beau idéal* of the district administrator:

> So ended nearly nineteen years in the Province, which I had enjoyed to the full. It was a wonderful life and somehow amazingly rewarding, chiefly because one was so closely in touch with the Sudanese and learned to appreciate their patient courage, cheerfulness and friendliness. I went into the Secretariat most unwillingly, partly because it was a new unknown world, but also because I felt I could never again be in such close touch with the ordinary people, and would have to make decisions on other people's proposals and on other people's estimates of what was best to be done.

**Transition in Africa: From Direct Rule to Independence*, by Sir James Robertson, with a foreword by Margery Perham; Hurst, 1974; pp. xiv, 272; £4.80. *The Flag-Wagger*, by Harry Franklin, with an Introduction by Elspeth Huxley; Shepheard-Walwyn, 1974; pp. xi, 204; £3.95. *African Sunset*, by Robin Short; Johnson, 1973; pp. 280; £3.50.

Though he could not have known that the Sudan's independence was less than a decade away, in the event Sir James's years as Civil Secretary from 1945 to 1953 were to prove the most exciting in the history of that august office. The non-Service political historian will also find much of interest in these middle chapters.

In a way the Nigerian chapters are (along with the inadequate maps) the disappointing part of the book. Yet, if there is little that is new and no political revelations here, there is welcome confirmation of several suppositions and some rattling good stories about life in Government House. Indeed, Sir James's proverbial humour comes through on every page. Perhaps I may be allowed to exercise a reviewer's prerogative and quote the story I like best. It concerns Richard Nixon, who as Vice-President was the United States representative at Ghana's independence celebrations in 1957. Basking in *bonhomie*, Nixon approached a large black man at the reception, stretched out his hand, and confidentially asked him, "What does it feel like to be free?" The reply was short, swift, and to the point. "I can't rightly say, Mr. Vice-President: you see, I come from Alabama." *Transition in Africa* is one of the last great proconsuls' modest memoirs, to be hugely enjoyed. It is also a book that will be widely appreciated by Sir James's countless Sudanese and Nigerian friends who had the privilege and pleasure of knowing this genial giant in person (and his splendid wife, too: the photograph at p. 162 was as relevant and reassuring to Lagos in 1960 as it was in Wad Medani in 1940) and who, like so many Africans, shrewdly could – and still can – separate the bogey of colonialism from the irrepressible honesty of many of its exponents.

While Harry Franklin was concluding his career as a senior official in Northern Rhodesia, Robin Short was just embarking on his as an administrative Cadet in the same colony. Together these two memoirs span nearly forty years of district administration in Northern Rhodesia, thereby enhancing the literary record of the District Commissioner in a colony already acknowledged as a leader in the field for its *Diary of a District Officer*. Neither Franklin nor Short saw their handiwork come to fruition. The former retired too early ("I thought the situation over and decided that I could not, would not, stay in the Service") to see independent Zambia, the latter did not wish to wait and see it: the author of a chapter on the political party era entitled "Then the Dark" was clearly not the kind of man to take kindly to *Uhuru*. He saw the Administration "betrayed by a Government determined not to win . . . Truly a triumph for the Party but a field sewn with dragon's teeth, teeth of the sharpest and most sinister kind, for what had been done once could so easily be done again". Harry Franklin, known to many outside the Northern Rhodesian service by his invention of the saucepan radio, did in fact return to independent Rhodesia, serving as a Minister and politician in opposition to the Central Africa Federation, which he castigated in his *Unholy Wedlock*. It is perhaps significant in our context of the Colonial Administrative Service that Harry Franklin, the urbane District Commissioner, should dedicate his admirably written memoir to all past members of the Colonial Service (which almost forgives his seemingly flippant title!), whereas the dismayed Robin Short chooses for his dedication "To the

District Messengers of Northern Rhodesia". These he goes on to eulogise, in true D.O. style:

> The District Messengers went on to the end. They never failed, they never faltered. Not only together, surrounded by armed mobs, but often alone, surrounded by the hostility of their own relatives, and in remote villages far from any possible help, they continued to do their duty . . . They, the most loyal of the government's servants, were betrayed from the rear. That is a shameful story.

It is this preference for the 'man of the bush' and its rider, the rejection of the (semi-) educated African, common to the majority of British administrators in Asia and Africa alike, that will surely emerge as one of the nails in their coffin when the history of the Administrative Service is written from the other side. Short makes no bones about it:

> The long ranks of the betrayed reproach us. I see them now. All those who have trusted us, "uneducated" men mostly, all who tried to do their duty until the end, and after it. The loyal Chiefs, their councillors, the police, the District Messengers, the great mass of the ordinary people in ordinary villages what can we say to them now? And how much more is their reproach addressed to those responsible for their betrayal – that is the burden that they must always bear, however it may be glossed over. Writing as I do, in the shadow of the defeat of all that was built up, and all our hopes, I pray only that the country may find worthy men to rule it.

Franklin's relaxed optimism and his delightful, restrained, Punch humour (witness the epic description of his arrival at his first *boma* and the lowering of the flag at dusk outside the D.C.'s office by the messenger and the bugler, complete with three airedales as spectators) is the antithesis of Short's impatient gloom: "This book describes the road down the hill in Africa in the 1960s and how both Africans and Europeans who did all they could to stop this descent, to stand against this foolish and evil tide, were brushed aside and overthrown."

Both Franklin and Short give clear reasons why they joined the Colonial Service. The former's self-smiling sense of the imperial mission ("It was clearly my duty to help to strengthen the Empire myself. I was well qualified to educate the turbulent savages somewhere: to turn them into splendid black Englishmen. That would make them very happy and ensure their loyalty to the Crown") contrasts with Short's more naked imperialism (capital letters and all):

> I am and always have been an Imperialist. And so I believe that the form of government in Northern Rhodesia which prevailed before Federation, provided the best, the most painstaking and benevolent in the world, for all its lack of colour and imagination.

In the context of the time, when terms like "colonial" and "imperial" were not yet dirty words, the Empire was a valid ideal, a point made by Elspeth Huxley in her elegant and excellent introduction on what the district administrator really was and did.

Above all for our quest, both writers offer valuable light on the colonial Governors under whom they served. Here Short has the edge over Franklin,

partly because his memoir is furnished with a good working index, and partly because he is not shy about classifying the governors under whom he served: "Sir Arthur Benson was the greatest Governor the country ever had" . . .; "The Provincial Administration had run down into a poor state of morale in the last five years of Sir Gilbert Rennie's administration . . .;"

> Many years had passed since Sir Evelyn Hone had served in the field, and his long tenure in the Secretariats had unfitted him now for the rush and grapple of events outside the run of regularity and routine. His mind was supple but it lacked brute strength to face events and master them by native force. His every instinct was for compromise, accommodation. But he was faced with men that set themselves outside the reach of reason, themselves the prisoners of the dark elemental forces they had summoned up from below. All this and the mental fatigue that creeps imperceptibly over those who have served long years in Africa, led him step by step down fatal courses.

* * *

Robin Short's reasons for awarding Benson the accolade – "he knew more about the rural African than any Governor before or since: he had his knowledge at first hand from the villages, from the tours where the slope was always uphill, from the carriers, and the camp fires sending up their showers of sparks on a cold night. His love was for the African, every African, and for the real African about to be submerged in a mass proletariat behind a facade of progress and freedom. He looked the politicians in the face, and they would slink away" – and for withholding it from Hone are not without considerable interest to the searcher of Service values.

Perhaps we may leave these judgements to our hypothetical historian of the Colonial Administrative Service to chew over before he takes up his putative pen. Robertson the titan, Franklin the individualist, Short one kind of angry young man: in addition to the stock image of the dedicated, if limited, District Officer, the Empire had plenty of room for nonconformist administrators. Like a packet of liquorice, the Colonial Administrative Service was all the better for being made up of all sorts.

Radio Clubs in Niger

by T. G. BRIERLY[1]

Mr. Brierley served in the Nigerian administration and subsequently both with Oxfam in West Africa and with CAFRAD.

NIGER was one of the first countries in Africa to attempt to promote local development through a network of radio clubs. Others which have subsequently followed Niger's example, include Togo and Dahomey (the latter with UNESCO help) – Senegal already had a similar system. Niger was influenced by the "rural radio tribunes" of India and Canada, and by similar work carried out among rural communities in France.

Shortly after Niger became independent, the authorities were trying to explain the first development plan at public meetings in Niamey – the questions posed by the public, and the replies, were broadcast in the vernacular. These broadcasts aroused such interest that it was decided to try to set up a more permanent structure, called radio clubs, so that this type of radio feed-back could be exploited in the interests of public enlightenment – or, as the Hausas say, in the "war against ignorance".

A radio club is a group of listeners which participate directly in the preparation of programmes on themes concerning the economic and social development of the country. Members pay a symbolic fee and each club has its own radio and tape-recorder.

The number of radio clubs in Niger increased from nine in 1962 to 70 in 1968. This was considered to be the optimum number if proper control was to be maintained and, in principle, there are two radio clubs in every district (*arrondissement*) – over 50 listening-centres (*centres d'écoute*), linked to the more dynamic radio clubs, have also been opened. Over 200 villages and 10,000 participants have directly benefited from the scheme, although the total numbers affected have certainly been far greater – the women in the Zinder area (south-centre of Niger) have shown particular enthusiasm for radio clubs. The first two months of the current campaign (1972-73) have beaten all previous participation records.

Each club is supervised by an "animator" selected and trained by the Association of Radio Clubs of Niger (ARCN). He is usually a young volunteer, between 20 and 35 years old, with a responsible job in the locality of the club, eg a local school-teacher, dispensary-attendant or postal-clerk, although tailors and other non-government employees have also been selected as animators. Since their radio club work is in their spare time, they are paid a variable monthly allowance, calculated according to how much work

[1]From information given to the author by authorities of the *Association des Radio-Clubs du Niger* (ARCN) and from "*Dix ans d'Animation Radiophonique en Milieu Rural*" by El Hadj Badge Mamadou and J. J. Robert (Niamey, ARCN, 1972).

they do for the club. Annual initiation courses (three weeks) and refresher courses and seminars are held in Niamey in the school holidays for the animators – these courses cover general development themes as well as the technical aspects of running group discussions and operating the tape-recorders.

The listening-centres are visited regularly by the animators and each centre has its own unpaid local volunteer, selected by the village members concerned, who is trained at radiophonic "animation" in the vernacular at the local district or provincial headquarters.

In Niamey, the Association of Radio Clubs of Niger has an Executive Committee, a Bureau and a Permanent Production Team. The Executive Committee, composed of persons and technicians specialised in adult education and development, decides the general principles of the Association's activities and periodically lays down its programme. The seven-member Bureau supervises the execution of the programme and is responsible for the administrative running of the Association. The Permanent Production Team consists of a co-ordinator, a producer, two translators, a documentalist, a secretary, an accountant, a typist, a messenger and a driver. It prepares the programmes, edits the material sent in by the clubs, arranges training courses and generally supervises the work of the animators. Although the legal status of the Association is "private" (in order to ensure flexibility of administration and popular participation), the radio clubs are placed under the supervision (*tutelle*) of the Minister of Human Promotion (before 1972, under the Commissioner-General for Development).

Annual programme

Radio club activities come to a halt, except among the nomads in the North, during the farming (rainy) season (June-October). Every year, in November, the animators participate with the national co-ordinator at an inter-services meeting during which the different Ministries and services of the State propose to the Association subjects which they would like to see treated during the next campaign. These suggestions, together with those from listeners in the "bush", enable the permanent team to draw up an annual 26-week calendar, from mid-December to mid-June, with one subject for broadcasting each week (on Mondays and Thursdays) – one week per month is, however, kept free to allow for unexpectedly topical subjects to be covered (eg the cholera outbreak).

The written documents provided by the Ministries are converted into questionnaires in the vernacular which are distributed to the radio clubs at least five weeks before the date of the broadcast. The animators, armed with tape-recorders, then record their discussions with the individuals or groups. Individual interviews are conducted with the greatest discretion possible and no pressure of any kind may be exercised on the person being interviewed – his identity can be kept anonymous if he so wishes. Group discussions are also recorded. In this way two facets of opinion can be considered – one "private" (by person to person interviews) and one "public" (by group listening followed by debate). These two facets, of course, do not necessarily overlap.

The tapes must be sent back to Niamey at least a week before the date of the broadcast. The final selection and editing of the tapes is done in Niamey, where the Ministries concerned are asked to reply to criticisms raised by listeners interviewed in the "bush". The final broadcasts, in Hausa and Djerma, are livened up by appropriate Niger music.

Almost any subjects can be covered, but here are some examples:

General	Beggar-minstrels, the Upper Volta, Dahomey, rural exodus;
Administration ..	Peasants and civil servants, the province (*département*) and its head, district councils, the town hall;
Health	Measles, first-aid, malaria, vaccination, water hygiene, pregnancy;
Agriculture ..	Bush fires, better crops, agricultural credit, harnessed cultivation, fertilizers.

So far, there has not been any organised co-ordination between the Animation Service (roughly equivalent to the Community Development Services found in some anglophone African countries) and the Radio Clubs, apart from specific requests for programmes that the Animation Service sometimes makes (eg for village pharmacies). The Radio Club used to come under the wing of the Commissariat for Information, but since they now fall under the same Ministry of Human Promotion (set up in 1972) as the Animation Service, there would seem to be obvious advantages in their working in increasingly close collaboration with each other to help the people to broaden their outlook and to improve conditions of life.

Feed-back research, carried out annually among regular listeners, reports enthusiastic response from most radio-club groups. For example, in Diffa (in south-east Niger), where there used to be only two owners of radios and the roads were almost impassable to vehicles, a group reported that "our whole life has been changed since we are now in contact with the Nation . . . it is the first time that we have been able to express ourselves".

Quarterly Notes

NEW ZEALAND – *Ombudsman's new role in Local Government*

At the 1973 Conference of the New Zealand Institute of County Clerks, the Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, explained that his job was to give a helping hand to the private citizen who was the victim of maladministration.

His powers were clearly defined as:

the unbiased investigation of specific complaints of administrative injustice;

the right to have access to files and privileged documents except when national security would be threatened;

the authority to criticise;

the right to recommend or persuade but not direct;

the ability to make recommendations to the legislature;

no jurisdiction in cases which have access to another authority, eg the Town and Country Planning Appeal Board.

He said that the number of justified complaints he received were increasing. Although he will have no official jurisdiction in local body matters until the legislation is changed, Sir Guy said that he had already received over 500 complaints about local authorities.

The complaints covered a wide spectrum and according to Sir Guy, showed a lack of good public relations on the part of many councils.

He gave a hypothetical example of the way he would investigate a complaint concerning a local authority.

Firstly the county or town clerk would receive a letter or telephone call from the ombudsman advising him of the complaint. Then after studying the clerk's reply and the relevant files, the ombudsman would return to the complainant. If the complainant was still not satisfied, the ombudsman would go to see the clerk and talk to the officers and council members, inspect the site and so on.

Only when he felt that he had got as close to the truth as humanly possible would he make his recommendations.

Source: New Zealand Local Government, Vol 9, No 8

LAGOS STATE – *Satellite Towns*

On housing, the Governor said that the government has taken steps to create "satellite towns" around the metropolitan area. One of such towns is Amuwo-Odofin New Town, designed to accommodate 100,000 initially. General Gowon has laid the foundation of 10,000 housing units to be built in the state under the Federal Government's housing scheme. The Governor has launched the saving and mortgage scheme of the Lagos State Develop-

ment and Property Corporation. About 6,000 housing units would be needed yearly to cope with demand in Lagos. Brig Johnson said that the government will soon introduce building of prefab houses.

Source: West Africa No 2978 – 15.7.74

INTERNATIONAL – *Increased Cotton Production*

A worldwide research, development and marketing promotion programme to increase the consumption of cotton and to make it more competitive against synthetics in the world market has been urged by a team of international experts.

Cotton, the world's most widely-used natural fibre and a major source of foreign exchange for some 60 countries, has been facing increasingly stiff competition from man-made fibres in recent years.

If cotton could simply hold its position in the rising world demand for textiles, say the experts in a recent fact-finding report prepared for UN-DP, its consumption would double in the next 20 to 25 years. No other commodity offers so great a potential for employment and income for the developing countries.

The report proposed the creation of an international organisation to supervise a wide-ranging research and promotion programme, including a research institute to plan, carry out and/or commission research.

Cotton, which has been used to produce textile and other fibre products for nearly 5,000 years, is currently being grown in some 70 countries. Nearly 500 million people depend for their livelihood on cotton production alone.

For developing countries, cotton and its by-products (seed, meal, oil and textiles) are second only to petroleum as a source of foreign exchange.

Source: *Pre-Investment News*, 1974

UNITED NATIONS – *Agency addresses*

The following addresses were provided in a recent issue of *Pre-Investment News* and may be helpful to readers who may not have a UN Agency address book to hand:

The Editor
"Pre-Investment News"
United Nations Development Programme
866 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA

Public Enquiries Unit
Room GA-57
United Nations
New York
NY 10017
USA

Information Service
United Nations
European Office
Palais des Nations
1211 Geneva 10
Switzerland

UN/UNITED NATIONS
Director
United Nations Technical Co-operation Office
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
United Nations
New York 10017
USA

ILO/INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION
The Director-General
International Labour Office
CH-1211
Geneva 22
Switzerland

FAO/FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
Via delle terme di Caracalla
Rome
Italy

UNESCO/UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION
Director
Bureau of Relations with Member States and International Organisations and Programmes
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
7 Place de Fontenoy
75700 Paris
France

ICAO/INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANISATION
Director
Technical Assistance Bureau
International Civil Aviation Organisation
International Aviation Building
1080 University Street
Montreal 101
Canada

WHO/WORLD HEALTH ORGANISATION
Deputy Director-General
World Health Organisation
Avenue Appia
1211 Geneva 27
Switzerland

IBRD (WORLD BANK)/INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
1818 H Street NW
Washington DC 20433
USA

ITU/INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION
The Secretary-General
The International Telecommunication Union
1211 Geneva 20
Switzerland

IAEA/INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
Deputy Director-General for Technical Assistance
International Atomic Energy Agency
Kaerntnerring 11
A-1010 Vienna 1
Austria

UNIDO/UNITED NATIONS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION
Chief Technical Equipment Procurement and Contracting Office (TEPCO)
United Nations Industrial Development Organisation
PO Box 707
A-1010
Vienna
Austria

UNCTAD/UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT
The Director for Technical Co-operation
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
Palais des Nations
CH-1211 Geneva 10
Switzerland

UPU/UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION
Universal Postal Union
Weltpoststrasse 4
Bern
Switzerland

IMCO/INTER-GOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANISATION
The Head
Technical Co-operation Division
Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation
101-104 Piccadilly
London W1V OEA
England

WMO/WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANISATION
Director
Technical Co-operation Department
World Meteorological Organisation
PO Box No 1
CH-1211
Geneva 20
Switzerland

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS
African Development Bank
Boite Postale 1387
Abidjan
Ivory Coast

ADB/Asian Development Bank
Commercial Centre
PO Box 789
Manila
Philippines

IDB/Inter-American Development Bank
808-17th Street NW
Washington DC20577
USA

UNDP/UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
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Book Reviews

Administrative Training and Development: A Comparative Study of East Africa, Zambia, Pakistan, and India, edited by BERNARD SCHAFFER *Praeger, New York, Washington, London,* 1974; £9.75.

Administrative training, especially in the form of establishing or strengthening national institutes of administration or national training institutions, was the major form of technical assistance in public administration of the United States foreign aid agency and the Ford Foundation, as well as the United Nations, in the 1950s and in the 1960s. Evaluations of this major effort, in one aspect or another, have been undertaken from time to time. The Institute of Development Studies in the United Kingdom in the years 1968 to 1971 undertook a research project, which using case studies on the East African Staff College, the Kenya Institute of Administration (KIA), the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) in Zambia, the National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA) in Lahore, and the National Academy of Administration in India as the basis, made an overall examination of both the theory and practice of this major effort. These case studies were the work of Patricia Stamp, Colin Leys, Geof Wood, Ken Cabatoff, and Theo Mars respectively. These case studies, together with a general note on administrative training, both in the technical assistance context (the U.S. case) and in the colonial situation (British West Africa) by Zoe Allen, and with an introduction on the ideas and institutions of training and a general conclusion by Bernard Schaffer, are now published by Praeger Publishers under the above title. No matter whether one agrees or disagrees with the authors, this is a book which all interested in administrative training (especially at the policy level) should read. Schaffer's introductory and concluding chapters, in particular, are very stimulating and well written. These two chapters give an excellent presentation of the view of those favouring the generalist administration system (as that represented by the pre-Fulton British Civil Service) on the subject of administrative training.

This book is the most severe indictment of the USA approach to administrative training in its technical assistance programme to developing countries. After World War II, large sums of technical assistance funds have been spent by the US Aid agency and the Ford Foundation in helping countries to build or to strengthen their national institutes of administration for training purposes. This was especially true in the 1950s and the 1960s. The presentation of this indictment is the main objective of this book.

For this main objective, this research project was subject to certain important constraints. Since the project was mainly financed by the Overseas Development Administration of the United Kingdom Government, the cases selected for study were all countries within the British Commonwealth of Nations. In fact the five cases were all confined to East Africa and the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent. Allen's note did contain a brief survey of the English-speaking countries in West Africa and about 30 pages on countries assisted by US aid (pages 73 to 102). Among the five case studies, only KIA

and NIPA Lahore are products of technical assistance situations, with aid provided from American sources. The East African Staff College, which is at least partly the product of a technical assistance situation, is a regional institution and should be treated as a special case. The NIPA Zambia is largely a product of Africanisation or localisation. The National Academy in India was "internally generated" by the established elite of the Indian administration itself. Therefore the main theme of this book indicting the technical assistance efforts in administrative training is based mainly on the KIA and the NIPA Lahore case studies and the general note by Allen. The readers may be puzzled how these three studies alone could have justified the general remarks at the beginning and the broad conclusions at the end of this book by Schaffer, the leader of the team and the editor of the book. Actually the propositions made by Schaffer in these two chapters are the "ideological basis" or theoretical framework of the design of all these case studies. The conclusions are not conclusions reached by the studies, but those confirmed by them. The conclusions are all implied in the study design.

The authors agree that there is a need to remedy the inadequacy of the civil servants (especially the new recruits) in the developing countries. They reject, however, the US approach which considers that the existence of such need would justify the establishment of NIPAs (or institutes of the NIPA type). To the authors, the evident case for the establishment of NIPAs should not be in the existence of training needs, but in whether the NIPAs could *perform* in remedying the inadequacies. Schaffer states on page 429 that "the professional expertise which training institutes seem to be teaching may not be very sure or teachable. Administration may be inherently a more suitable profession for apprenticeship than for the classroom."

It is not possible in a book review to go into the broad subject whether the establishment of training institution is or is not the answer to the existence of the training needs. The supporters of the US approach may use the "success" story of the French National School of Administration to justify the establishment of NIPAs. The French National School is both a part of the recruitment process and is central to its personnel system. Although it may tend to strengthen the elite class in government services, it has been able to supply the French administration with effective civil servants. The authors did not, in this book, either show whether and how the French National School and similar institutions failed to meet the training needs, or support by citing actual cases their contention that "what training achieves it does conditionally" and "it can rarely do what apprenticeship does" (p. 443). Perhaps the authors had the pre-Fulton British case in mind. If so, they did not present any convincing arguments in this book to show how and why the Fulton's recommendation to institutionalise training in the United Kingdom was mistaken. At certain points the authors seem to concede that pre-entry and post-entry (induction) training would be useful, but not in-service training (except policy conference of a very short duration). The French National School is basically a pre-entry training institution. Many of the NIPAs are mainly for pre-entry or post-entry training. Basically, the case studies in this book do not convince an objective reader that the NIPAs have all failed to perform or that a system of apprenticeship would have had better performance.

There are elements of truth in some of the points raised by the authors. First, if one is not careful, the NIPAs could become an instrument to strengthen the elite administrative class in the developing countries. Second, some of the NIPAs established with foreign assistance in the 1950s and the 1960s had not been successful in meeting the training needs. The "experts" sent to the developing countries from an aid-giving country could be interested more in creating employment for trainers in their own country than in training the trainees in a developing country. Third, one of the most serious mistakes had been an attempt to build a model of training institution for application to all developing countries. The situation in each country has its uniqueness and no model can be universally applied.

As to the basic point whether the NIPAs established with US assistance did or did not succeed in their performance or in meeting the needs, the materials presented in these case studies seem to me to be far from conclusive and quite inadequate to get a guilty verdict from a jury of objective readers.

Finally, I do not understand the authors when they, in this book, extended their indictment also to the United Nations programme, perhaps under the doctrine of "guilty by association", either on the ground that the United Nations does use some experts of US nationality or on the ground that the United Nations does assist extensively institutions in administrative training. This book, however, does not include any case study of an institution assisted by the United Nations. Of the long list of countries with which the United Nations Public Administration Division (PAD) had technical co-operation in administrative training since 1950, this book draws attention to the failure of one and briefly mentions a couple of the others and then jumps to the conclusion that PAD commits the same crime as USAID. As indicated above, I do not believe the indictment would lead to a guilty verdict as charged, even in the US case. No doubt the United Nations programme has many weaknesses. Among the long list of national institutes assisted by PAD, there are both stories of success and stories of failure. But the United Nations programme does not follow only the NIPA model. It includes projects to strengthen education and training in public administration in universities (such as the Brazilian School of Public Administration or the Colombia project); schools of public administration for pre-entry or post-entry training following the French model (mostly in French-speaking Africa); as well as training projects as part of major administrative reform or management improvements (such as the Iran and the East Africa projects). Many of the criticisms raised by the authors would not be applicable to a large number of PAD projects. To criticise or to indict on the basis of certain ideology or value system and not on the basis of careful case studies is the main weakness of this book.

CHI-YUEN WU

International Development 1973. Political and Social Realities of Development: Recognition and Response, edited by PATRICIA W. BLAIR; *Oceana Publications, New York,* 1973.

This contains the Report of the 13th World Conference of the Society for International Development held in San José, Costa Rica, February 22-25,

1973, and Selections from Addresses by José Figueres (Keynote Address), Barbara Ward (Development in the World Village), Irving Friedman (Reflections of a Developer), Ernst Michanek (A Donor Speaks His Mind), and Oscar Arias Sanchez (Development Realities in Costa Rica). The rest is selections from papers and roundtables grouped under three headings: "Recognition and Prescription: The 'Marginados'," "China as a Development Model", "Response and Responsibility: Institutions Affecting Development", followed by a Postcript by the SID President (Paul-Marc Henry). It must have taken some tough editing (by Patricia Blair), tougher than on past occasions, to bring this volume down to only 125 pages.

Robert Asher (Chairman of the Programme Committee) in a Foreword points out some of the omissions: questions of military expenditures, corruption, development-minded political leadership were not discussed. Of the things which are included, what sticks in the mind after reading this intelligent digest of the Conference?

1. From the keynote address by the President of Costa Rica the statement that the sense of failure typical of much development discussion is not new – it is familiar from the nineteen-thirties (a theme to which Barbara Ward returned). Any failure is more a question of time-scales and dimensions. In 25 years, absolute poverty in Costa Rica has declined from two-thirds to one-third of the people, and abundance increased from 1 per cent to 10-15 per cent. That is progress of sorts to have now two problems on hand – excessive poverty and excessive abundance. And there is much progress in development analysis. Countries do not grow wealthier by what they produce but by what they invest. (One would say that depends on the nature of the investment – the investment yardstick can be as misleading as the GNP yardstick). The next step forward in Costa Rica will be a family compensation bill for the benefit of large companies, in spite of the obvious objections.

2. Barbara Ward: There is a weariness with well-doing, though there wasn't really enough well-doing to make people weary. We have learnt a lot in the last 15 years: where development is taken to the people, the birth rate begins to fall; we can and must take the tendency to maldistribution out of the development process; in industrialisation, you need an internal market large enough to make the transition from import substitution; to spend $200 billion on armaments and only $6 billion on aid is an ultimate human folly. The needs of two-thirds of mankind in the LDCs are the unsaturated market which will prevent another 1929. We must remove the competitive pressure surrounding the manufactured exports of the DCs (written before the oil crisis). The imperative to development is enormously reinforced by the new environmental insights – the environmental argument is an essential part of the developmental.

3. Irving Friedman: The development economists wanted authority, power, influence. Now they have got it but they feel lonely and lost and are looking round for company to share responsibility and give new insights. A country like India is trying to organise, in one country, what not so long ago was the size of the whole world. In development today,

anything goes – because we are not working out of a book, we are not going by formulas, and we don't have a historical past we can simply borrow from.

4. Ernst Michanek: Two changes in the aid relationship are essential: (1) Away from instruction by foreign experts toward consultative services (especially in procurement). (2) Away from interventionism, toward support of national priorities. (The principle of "fungibility", without using the name, is used by Mr. Michanek to explain the futility of interventionism, and a reason for donors to be "more relaxed" about aid "projects".) The trade and aid performance of individual donors must be reviewed by the LDCs, and not only *vice versa*. A loosening of the various ties between contributors and particular projects or programmes in LDCs is conducive to the real efficiency of the aid relationship. We must concentrate on issues, not projects. In aid, it is important to be *un*important.

5. Oscar Arias Sanchez (Minister of Planning, Costa Rica): Costa Rica has more schoolteachers than soldiers, more books than guns. (How many LDCs could say that? – here is material for more "development ratios".) Costa Rica is aware that a policy of compromise, of permanent negotiation, of many and fleeting agreements, of continual arguments, and, in general, of a search for concensus, is inefficient – however, it is the best we can manage. (How close to home this strikes!)

These themes are then further taken up and pursued in the roundtable discussions, where specifically the roundtable on China will meet with general interest. There is a useful index – too often lacking in conference reports of this type – which should facilitate selective reading. The tough editing by Patricia Blair has certainly paid off. After reading this little volume one has the feeling: "I've been there!"

H. W. SINGER

African Women in Towns – An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution, by KENNETH LITTLE; *Cambridge University Press*, 1973; 242 pages; £4.90.

1. According to Professor Little "African women are now on the march". In his discussion of ways in which African women in towns are beginning to free themselves from traditional and customary attitudes and behaviour towards women's roles, Professor Little takes up and expands a number of themes which he initially introduced in his book *West African Urbanisation: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change*, published in 1965. The examination of African women's changing relationships with men, in the home and family, as migrants to the towns, as employees and employers within the urban economy, and as members of voluntary groups, is undertaken against the volatile background of the rapidly-changing African urban scene. Professor Little analyses women's adaptation to the modern city across a wide variety of comparative cultural backgrounds, and justifies this by asserting that "particular urban populations possess certain social, economic and demographic characteristics in common, which can be woven into a comprehensive structural pattern". The objection to the breadth of the analysis which sweeps over virtually the whole of sub-Saharan Africa is

not, however, I think entirely overcome, and my main criticism of the analysis is that although rich in detail and observations, it does at times lack a solid structural base to give coherence to otherwise disparate cultural situations.

2. In the context of rapid urban growth and change, it appears that women are beginning to be as enthusiastic migrants as earlier waves of young men. Little shows ways in which women migrants are drawn into employment in the petty commodity and trading market and the demi-monde or underlife of the city in which sexual favours are sold to make up the family income. The difference between the new forms of sexual liaison formed by the modern "free" women are not to be confused with those of paid prostitution, and Little identifies a whole range of associations between "independent" women and their men folk, with different degrees of stability and economic involvement. These range from prostitution, through casual liaisons, to the role of the "femmes libres" or "parlour wives" of the new emancipated educated female class who are the mistresses and kept-women of high-status men. There are also the "outside wives" of married men, there are women engaged in "free marriages" or stable illicit unions, and there are customary and statutory marriages. The very wide range of unions and the different kinds of obligations involved on both sides are examined in detail as examples of the forms of adaption to the disruption of the extended kin networks and the traditional marriage structure in which women in the rural areas have been constrained. The breakdown of the old ties brings about ambiguity and role conflict for women, and a range of stressful situations for the varying family members. Little uses the examples to demonstrate ways in which women are carving out their own new independent roles particularly where they are able to make their own living. One omission is the lack of examination in detail of the position of children within the household of female heads or independent unmarried women. Such examination would give an indication of the degree of disruption of structural family units. Little does refer to the fact that children of casual liaisons of married women belong to their fathers, whereas children of unmarried women belong to the woman's family. However, it would be useful to have seen analysed in detail the institutionalisation of the role of children within new forms of union so that we could compare it with the old order. Another point which one would have liked to see examined in greater detail is the extent to which contraception is practised by the new "free" women. There is a reference (page 155) to one of these women "having her stomach closed", but this is not further discussed. Clearly the detailed examination of new forms of sexual union, which takes up most of the discussions of the book, is of significance in the understanding of the role of urban women, but it would have gained more in significance if it had been set more firmly in the context of comparative family and fertility patterns.

3. Chapters of particular interest are those on new forms of mutual aid between women in the towns, with particular reference to voluntary associations (chapter 4), and particularly as these relate to women's working groups (chapter 3). New forms of economic independence, which pose such a threat to marriage, are of special interest and importance in consideration of social change between the sexes. The chapter on women's political roles

(chapter 5) demonstrates that apart from political demonstrations the role of women in politics has been limited to that of token representation, and that there is a great deal further to go. This of course is not solely a matter of concern for the developing nations. The portraits of eminent women at the end of the book do show ways in which some remarkable women have achieved the highest national status, but they are clearly very exceptional women and still very much a minority. The role of the educated woman, particularly in relation to marriage and the family, is examined in relation to social mobility (chapter 8). However, old traditions die hard and even among the educated elite the traditional role of women is often upheld. We find this particularly in reference to childbearing and the "tragedy" of sterility. The fact that prestige is still associated with procreative power even among educated men, is only challenged when women begin to enter occupations in high status. When women contribute to family finances and gain independent status from their husbands through education, and occupational status they begin to take a share in decision making in the home. Only among the educated elite is companionate marriage, based on romantic love, beginning to be prevalent. This in turn affects ideals of smaller family size, and contributes to the shrinking size of the urban household. The fact that this, however, is *not* a nuclear family in the Western sense, but incorporates cousins and brothers and other kinsfolk, is made clear by Professor Little, and worth wide recognition.

4. We are made aware throughout that underlying the many urban forms of marriage and the family there is emerging a defined class system – which is related to literacy and education as well as affluence and that "there are two quite different systems in which women participate. There is the one in which the illiterate and semi-literate sections move more or less as a body in both work and leisure time, and in which even the wives of elite men take part when their educational and occupational position is much below that of their husbands . . . The other system is the one in which the more enterprising type of 'civilised' woman aspires to make her mark". Women who are able to manoeuvre their roles as "free" women, or who are acting as "outside wives" of influential men, do not have to resort to petty trading or prostitution. But the illiterate woman is so disadvantaged that she must make what she can of any opportunities which arise. The voluntary organisations and associations have a special role to play at every level, forming group solidarity, educating into new norms, buffering against the worst evils of the urban experience, and even forming avenues of social mobility to the ranks of the elite. In this sense women's organisations have a particularly important function.

5. In terms of presentation there is just one minor quibble of irritation against extremely lengthy footnotes which draw the reader's attention from the main argument. In other respects the book is well presented and there is an excellent list of References cited, which represents a distinct improvement on the usual type of bibliography many of whose titles are often not quoted in the text.

6. Professor Little has written an important and readable book which draws attention to the very significant area of women's role in urban social

change, which we shall expect to see treated in greater detail by sociologists of development in the future. By initiating this enquiry of course Professor Little raises more questions than he can answer, but we would hope that these will be taken up in the future.

JOAN CHAPMAN

The Politics of Urban Development in Singapore, by ROBERT E. GAMER; *Cornell University Press;* pp. 263 incl appendixes, bibliography and index; £6.75.

This book deals with physical planning and urban development in Singapore, and clearly demonstrates both the complex nature of the whole process, and the way it is interwoven with the social, administrative, economic and political life of the nation.

The author, who is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, USA, carried out his research from 1964 to 1968 when he was teaching courses on the politics of developing nations in the Political Science Department of the University of Singapore.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first provides a brief historical outline of the Island-State, describes its resources, skills and administrative capabilities, as well as its political background and the rise of the People's Action Party, the party of Government.

The second part sets out in detail the background to, and the survey, planning, reclamation and development of the Kallang Basin, an area to the north-east of Singapore City, and attempts to evaluate the successes and failures of the project.

The third part of the book, entitled "the social environment of planning", compares the experience of Singapore with similar urban programmes in other countries in both the developed and the developing world, and calls for greater participation by the poorer majority of communities in the making of decisions affecting their lives.

The book is illustrated by maps, aerial photographs and charts, and has a number of appendices and an extensive bibliography.

The author, while admitting that Singapore is one of the few nations in the world to have overcome housing shortages, is critical of the methods employed by the Singapore Government. These he feels have destroyed a great deal of value, have left many problems unsolved and will create new problems for the future. He is not alone in his criticism of large-scale redevelopment methods such as those employed in Singapore for his views are shared by many in other countries.

Theories, policies, attitudes and methods, in common with fashions, change and are replaced. Today slavery and colonialism are rightly condemned, but both were generally accepted as normal in their day. In today's permissive society the fuss caused not many years ago by attempts to prevent publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is difficult to understand.

In national development programmes the "increased GNP" approach which held sway for many years is no longer acceptable, and far greater attention is now paid to social returns, to attempts to achieve a more equable

distribution of the economic and social benefits which result from development.

In the post-war years in the United Kingdom high-rise flat blocks formed a considerable part of most local authority housing programmes. Today the emphasis is on low and medium-rise construction. Also, the former large-scale demolition and redevelopment of urban areas is being replaced by less disruptive programmes of rehabilitation and more selective smaller-scale redevelopment – the "conservative surgery" approach advocated by Patrick Geddes in his redevelopment proposals for Indian cities early this century (*Patrick Geddes in India*, Lund Humphries, London, 1947).

At the time of Singapore's Independence it was natural that the Government should wish to make as big an impact as possible, as quickly as possible, in the fields of housing and employment, two of the major problems facing the new nation. This construction programme was carried out successfully, at the expense it must be admitted of overall physical planning considerations which, it was felt, would have hindered progress.

Many people share with the author his desire for far greater public participation by the poorer members of society in planning and development matters, but he is unable to describe any degree of success in the various examples put forward in this book. Even in the United Kingdom with its long history of planning, there has been little success where involvement by the poorer less-articulate members of the community is concerned.

In the context of developing countries it might be argued that "public participation" should be seen not so much as sharing in the decision-making process, but rather having an active part in the development programme and sharing in the benefits which result from it. From this point of view the Singapore Government no doubt feels that a reasonably high level of public involvement has been achieved and that, whatever the shortcomings of their development programmes, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages.

What of the future? There is no reason to doubt that the level of achievement in terms of construction will be as high as it has been in the past. Whether or not the change of attitude to housing construction programmes and urban redevelopment seen in the UK and elsewhere will be adopted also in Singapore only time will tell. What is certainly needed is a more comprehensive approach to planning, greater attention being paid to both the social and physical implications of all development proposals, with greater authority being given to and more effective use made of the Government's highly-skilled physical (land-use) planning service.

This is a book which should be read by all those who are interested in or concerned with problems of urban development or management, remembering however that the conditions and circumstances of Singapore are far from typical of those of the rest of the developing world.

The author merits our thanks for making this detailed study generally available in this way, but most credit must go to the Government of Singapore which gave the author complete access to all its official records concerning this development, an unusual concession by a newly-independent nation.

G. H. FRANKLIN

Nutrition – A Priority in African Development, edited by Bo VAHLQUIST, published by *The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation*, Sweden, illustrated; appendices; pp. 227.

Nutrition – A Priority in African Development contains the lead papers and a concluding consensus on a Seminar organised by The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in 1972. The Seminar, which focused on English-speaking Africa, was attended by Ministers and senior civil servants with an interest in problems of nutrition. It was the intention of the organisers of the Seminar to present nutrition as a major component in the development process and not to treat nutrition as a problem purely in the medical field.

The range of the papers presented under the main headings of this volume – Problems of Human Malnutrition; Factors in Problem Solution; The Necessity of Integration – demonstrate this objective.

The quality of the papers is uniformly high and stem from field experience and research. The result is a continuous and integrated flow of information on nutrition which points to the necessity for an inter-disciplinary approach in research and implementation.

It is perhaps invidious to single out particular papers, but certainly the paper by Andreas Fuglesang, "Nutrition-implementation Programmes as Communication Systems", who enters the field of development from the commercial world, breaks very new ground indeed. Producing a model of a nutrition-implementation programme Andreas Fuglesang relates field research with great precision to decision-making and implementation. His insistence on action-oriented research will be echoed by every field officer. Commenting on an expensive survey based on a stratified sample of 85 villages, he says: "Assessments on such levels of precision are too expensive and, from a utilisation point of view, utterly irrelevant for implementation, which operates no less efficiently on very coarse measurements. What is needed in nutrition-implementation programmes is cheap action-oriented research, providing major guide-lines and then ample investment in the professional administrative staff of the programme and in the actual implementation activities".

Those of us who were fortunate enough to confer and work with Derrick B. Jelliffe in Africa will appreciate the wisdom that he can bring to a Seminar of this description from his work in the field. His summing up of the Seminar, headed "The View of the Paediatric Nutritionist" is a masterly exercise in bringing theoretical considerations down to the hurly-burly of field operations. His realistic approach can be demonstrated from one short paragraph. "It is a strange paradox, if one considers that, all over the world now, the development of newer foods, sometimes prepared from very unlikely ingredients – grown on petroleum and made out of algae – is very rightly being pursued. At the same time, if one draws attention, as I am doing now, in very definite terms, to the question of the decline of human lactation in the world, one runs a great risk of being dubbed as some sort of fanatic or faddist. This is surely a strange reflection on this whole situation".

The papers contain an in-depth survey of the problems, constraints and opportunities in the field of nutrition. One would have liked to have seen

rather more emphasis on malnutrition as an expression of poverty, though to be fair, in the majority of the papers the problems of the poor in the urban and the rural areas are given some consideration.

An excellent handbook, not only for the professional in the field of nutrition, but for administrators and those concerned with development planning.

A. R. G. PROSSER

The Canadian Public Service, A Physiology of Government 1867-1970, by J. E. HODGETTS; *University of Toronto Press*, pp. 363; £7.25.

In writing his most recent book, Professor J. E. Hodgetts set himself the task of describing the Canadian public service from 1867 to 1970 – a task of considerable importance when it is remembered how important the service has been in the development of the country and that it now employs over ten per cent of Canada's labour force. However, the potential reader should bear in mind the limitations of such a task, for the book says nothing about the public servants themselves or about aspects of the policy-making process other than formal relationships between institutions and the structures of public organisations within which decisions are made. Professor Hodgetts explains that the book is "an historical-analytical survey, mapping the profile and physiology of the public service"; he is not concerned with decision-making as such but with "laying bare the structures within which decisions affecting every citizen and every public servant are taken daily", and his intention is "description rather than prescription".

The book is in three parts. Part One: Environment and Structure, contains chapters on Canadian society, the political system and the legal foundations of the public service. Part Two: Design for Operations, deals with the allocation of programmes, departmental and non-departmental structures, formal organisation, devolution, and auxiliary and staff functions. Part Three: Design for Management, contains chapters on the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and the concepts of responsibility and authority within departmental management structures. In his final chapter Professor Hodgetts indulges in a modest prescriptive exercise in which he draws the reader's attention to some of the consequences of present structures in the public service in terms of their significance in decision-making.

This readable but somewhat unexciting book is a much-needed addition to the literature on the subject but it is more likely to be bought by reference and lending libraries than by specialists in public administration who do not have a particular interest in Canada. However, the author's scholarly approach considers Canadian experience in the light of guiding principles and elements of theory so that his work is an unpretentious addition to the general literature on theoretical aspects of public administration. His book is a valuable and necessary addition to the series "Studies in the Structure of Power: Decision Making in Canada", for without it the series, which includes John Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic*, could be criticised for giving insufficient attention to institutional structures, although these provide the framework within which most of the political/administrative decision-making activity takes place.

It would be extremely helpful if volumes similar to this existed for other countries, for it is essential to have an adequate appreciation of the historical and environmental factors which have influenced the development of institutions if the analysis of power structures and decision-making processes is not to be superficial and/or misleading. These factors, together with the analysis of contemporary institutions, are at least as important in less developed countries as in the western world and it is unfortunate that such analysis now receives so little attention from public administration scholars compared with the more fashionable social and functional aspects of decision-making. Without a comprehensive and balanced appreciation of all these factors and approaches in the study of public administration our understanding of the administrative problems of individual countries cannot make much progress and attempts at comparative studies can have very limited value.

RICHARD A. CHAPMAN

Structure, Sizes and Costs of Urban Settlements, by P. A. STONE; *C.U.P.*, 1973; pp. 284 incl. Appendix; £4.50.

"What does a town or urban settlement cost?" If a town has a cost, i.e. when someone has provided the money and the effort to produce it, then it will have a "value" when it has been produced, a value which can be measured for the private sector, for the public sector, and for the nation as a whole.

Perhaps Dr. Stone has not provided us with a complete method for establishing such values, but he has certainly provided a wealth of information on which we can begin to unravel some of the complexities involved.

The author's purpose in writing this book was to review the results of his research over the period 1967 to 1969, and "to assess how far information is available for reaching decisions on the spatial distribution, and form, of urban Britain". This follows on from his former research study, *Urban Development in Britain; Standards, Costs and Resources, 1964-2004, CUP,* 1970.

There are three separate studies in the book; the first is an endeavour to identify the factors affecting settlement planning, and the way the form, size and location of settlements affect their use and function; this is followed by an analysis of the costs and returns of model settlements, and provides information on population structure and on activities, facilities, land use, and unit costs. The third study compares the costs of developing and operating various forms and sizes of settlements, with their financial returns, and this is done by analysing model settlements and statistical cost data. The study refers mostly to settlements of 50,000 to 250,000 population and much of the costing is related to neighbourhood units of 10,000 population (pre-1969 prices).

There is hardly a page without some interesting quantitative indicator (or factor) relating to urban settlements, but, after 238 pages of very intensive research and study, the author gives a word of warning, and concedes that the "problem of settlement development is not just to adjust economic sizes and form, taking account of costs and performances . . . but to consider

the total consequences of implementing such development. In order to achieve best results, a much greater understanding than is currently available of settlement operation, and perceived values, is required".

The author, I am sure, would be among the first to advise his readers that the resulting figures are, for the most part, indicators only, and great care would have to be taken in using them for any real-world situation. Apart from the effects of inflation, the changing wage rates, the changing costs of building materials, changing use of technology in urban systems, the changing functions of towns in our modern society, there are invariably peculiar local characteristics to the urban form and system of each town, and any one of which could cause a wide deviation from the average figures established in this study.

This book does not set out to establish a model of the way in which the financial implications of one part of the urban system interact with the urban system as a whole, but rather makes information available on selected parts of the urban elements of the towns, in the context of the present-day accounting methods. It opens the way for a new and much more complete review of the way in which our urban settlements operate, and, ultimately, this can lead to a study of their role in the economic life of the country as a whole. It is a most stimulating and thought-provoking book, a pioneering work which calls for both response and challenge to many of the figures which have been produced. It is a book which anyone concerned with, or interested in, planning, administration, functioning and operation of our urban settlements will want to have to hand for constant reference.

M. JUPPENLATZ

The Majesty of Colour - A Life of Sir John Bates Thurston: Volume One - I, The Very Bayonet, by DERYCK SCARR; *Australian National University Press, Canberra;* illustrated, glossary, maps and index; pp. 370; $(A)10.95.

The Pacific Islands certainly attracted men of character and a distant Colonial Office appointed with surprising wisdom some very unconventional Governors to rule them. One of these was Thurston who championed the Fijians against the riff-raff of would-be European settler-exploiters.

Dr. Scarr's admirably-produced first volume is clearly a labour of love. He is deeply steeped in Fijian history and folk-lore and as a result of dedication to his task, future scholars will surely refer to his "Thurston" for countless facts and references for many years to come.

This volume could be described as the Fijian struggle to remain independent and takes the reader from Thurston's first landing in 1861 up to 1874 when the Fijian flag came down and a British Colony was established. Thurston's struggle for his Fijians had not been entirely in vain, as he said "men were not given, nor the land . . . we offer to Her Majesty . . . the Government of the Islands, but not the soil or the Fijian people". To the surprise of the European community Thurston was not about to face ignominious dismissal as the racially-prejudiced anglo-saxon settlers anticipated gleefully. Instead he was to prove his administrative ability and

political skill to the first Governor, Gordon, so quickly, that he in his turn was to become their Governor and ensure the preservation of Fijian rights in their own homeland.

Dr. Scarr describes Thurston as a colossus whose personality and integrity towered over his European contemporaries in Fiji – an extraordinary figure: merchant seaman, castaway, planter, labour recruiter, settler leader – Acting Consul for a while, finally champion and Protector of the Fijians and a great Pro-Consul.

In his enthusiasm Dr. Scarr has packed his writing with facts and anecdotes many of which he has himself discovered. The result is partly a pre-Colonial history of Nineteenth-Century Fiji and partly a story of Thurston's first dozen years on the islands. Some scholars may regret that with so much to tell Dr. Scarr did not write with disciplined selectivity a one volume Life of Thurston and keep some of his material for a broader History of Fiji. As it is, a very fascinating story is so involved with detail as to make the reading less easy than it might well have been. A rather odd use of commas will, it is hoped, be revised for the next instalment. Nevertheless, here is a book that every student of Polynesia and of European penetration into the Pacific Islands will wish to place upon his bookshelves with a vacant space beside it to await Volume Two.

P.H.J.

Book Notes

Indian Administration, by SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI; *Orient Longman;* index; pp. 448; 40 Rupees.

Dr. Maheshwari has revised and expanded his standard work on Central and State government administration in India in preparing this welcome second edition. As Professor of Political Science and Public Administration at the prestigious Indian Institute of Public Administration, he is exceptionally well placed to overview the complex problems faced by those directly concerned with public administration in a great sub-continent.

He points to a plethora of reports on administrative reform upon which scant action has been taken – reports he describes as more voluminous than luminous. He emphasises that "any significant reform in public administration depends upon the demand made, and support given, by the country's polity" and he stresses that "political reform must synchronise with, if not precede, administrative reform". A clear, forthright message is handed to the authorities by an able, experienced scholar. It is a message which tells the authorities that if they do not hearken to his words and take effective reformatory action then their overburdened, overcentralised malady-stricken machinery of public administration is likely to sink altogether under its own excessive weight.

Economic Growth and Development in West Malaysia, by DAVID LIM; *Oxford University Press*; with maps, tables, figures, appendices, bibliography and index; pp. 346; £9.95.

Dr. Lim, in this admirably-produced volume, covers nearly a quarter of a century of Malaysian development – spanning the end of the Colonial era, the first stage of independence and the more recent years following Singapore's separation. Throughout the Third World, countries with economic dependency upon one or two products have been seeking to diversify their economies. Dr. Lim's study is mainly from the point of view of diversification and here he points to self-sufficiency in rice, to the pre-eminence gained as a Palm Oil exporter, to the modernisation of the rubber industry. Economic growth and stability have not, however, been matched by employment-creation nor by the elimination of inter-racial tensions. As elsewhere, in Malaysia, fast economic growth has been no herald of more employment or greater social justice. The author who, as an economist, views development almost entirely in economic terms – supporting his argument with plenty of data in the form of tables and figures – is hopeful that the Second Development Plan, more carefully planned and with more precise objectives, will serve Malaysia better than the First; but he does not emphasise in his conclusions that a *sine qua non* to long term economic and social development must include a positive policy on population growth.

Foreign Relations of African States - Colston Paper No 25, ed. K. INGHAM; *Butterworths*, 1974; pp. 344; £10.00.

Professor Ingham has edited the proceedings of the 25th Symposium of the Colston Research Society held in Bristol in the early Spring of 1973. The task was very well fulfilled. Indeed, this excellently-produced book is something of an Africanist collector's piece in which one can happily delve from time to time, picking some particular item of interest out of a pleasantly-varied field:

a. *Historical*

Pre-Colonial diplomacy in the Western Sudan, Eighteenth-Century diplomacy among the Fante, The Irarmba of West-Central Tanzania and their neighbours, Nineteenth-Century anti-slave patrolling by the Royal Navy off the East African Coast, changing boundaries and the partition of Africa by treaty. Among the authors here, Kenneth Ingham, Thomas Hodgkin, Freeman-Grenville, Antony Allott, C. H. Alexandrowicz – an indication of the high calibre of the contributors.

b. *Contemporary*

Two papers in particular call for notice. The formation of foreign service cadres in Black Africa by Tony Kirk-Greene and the policy shifts of OAU in the decade 1963-73, by Zdenek Cervenka.

Land-Locked Countries in Africa, ed. ZDENEK CERVENKA; *The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala;* with bibliography and annexes; pp. 369.

Anglo-phone Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Rhodesia, Swaziland, Uganda and Zambia; franco-phone Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Mali, Niger, Ruanda, Upper Volta – by and large all small, poor States (three indeed among the worst sufferers from the Sahel drought). These countries are the land-locked States in Africa about which a seminar was held in Oslo in 1972 and this book reports the proceedings and contains the background papers.

The theme is an intensely interesting one. A land-locked country unless it is exceptionally self-sufficient or has a variety of options open (like Zambia) can feel frustrated by a confinement that is relieved only by the grace of others. In Colonial days there was no real problem, but with independence the right of access to the sea by road, rail, river or lake is of such vital importance to the economic and social development of the land-locked that an UN internationally-backed convention is clearly required. The authors have been tempted to digress into political side issues – illustrative maybe of land-lock problems but irrelevant to basic geographical issues – and here quite clearly lies the major defect in this volume; there is not a single contribution from a geographer. The result is a report without proper balance, overweighted by political scientists. There are only two planners and three economists. There are two welcome journalists and a linguist. Half a dozen contributions are concerned with some facet of the law, with Dr. Pechota the only specialist of note in the field of international law. Notwithstanding this criticism, there is plenty of interest to absorb the student of African affairs.

Industrialisation in Nigeria - A Spatial Analysis, by LUDGWIG SCHATZI *Weltforum Verlag, Munich;* maps, tables, figures and bibliography; pp. 272; DM78.

Here is a book that will surely be studied with keen interest in Nigeria for very many years to come. When economists, academics, students of future generations want to discover how their large, rural African country rapidly became an important industrial-cum-agricultural nation, they will be able to find the progress made in the vital formulative post-independence years set out in detail by Dr. Schatzl, backed by clear maps and a multitude of facts and figures. The author describes his work as a study in industrial geography. Such an approach in a country so varied in both man-power and natural resources is an admirable way to gain a balanced picture of a remarkable period of Nigerian economic growth when already a measure of prosperity was accruing from oil resources. The next study on this theme will doubtless see the pace at least maintained as a result of the escalation of oil prices which took place soon after this book was written.

Africa: The Next Thirty Years; Ed. A. A. MAZRUI and HASU H. PATEL; *Julian Friedmann Ltd., London;* index; pp. 265; £4.00.

This volume is comprised of the papers presented at a Conference held at Makerere in 1969 to discuss the social and political problems facing the nations of Africa in the last third of the Twentieth Century. A majority of the contributors are American, albeit Africanists, and only half a dozen have African-based backgrounds and this is a pity, and the reason, one fears, for the expression of rather too many platitudes.

An inconclusive and insufficiently-forthright paper on "demographic prospects" does, however, quote Arthur Lewis' pertinent words "when we remember that the least developed countries barely manage to invest 5 per cent of their national income p.a., it is clear that their standard of living must fall if they indulge in the luxury of increasing their population by 2 or 3 per cent per annum".

With a great deal of empty space it is not an easy task to persuade African governments and their people that a positive policy towards population growth is essential, indeed will soon be of paramount importance, if long term economic and social development is to have real meaning to the citizenry of Africa.

Evaluation of Land Reform in Nepal, based on the work of M. A. ZAMAN; *Ministry of Land Reform, His Majesty's Government of Nepal,* 1973; glossary of local terms, annexes, detailed tables, select bibliography; pp. 124; US$4.00.

After tentative and unsuccessful measures in the 1950s, important land reforms were initiated in Nepal with the enactment of the Land Act of 1964. These reforms included abolition of the *jimindary* (intermediate tax collectors) system; control of agricultural rents and loan repayments, improvement of security for agricultural tenants, and imposition of land "ceilings". This evaluation report contains the first full evaluation of these reforms. It was undertaken by a FAO adviser, Mr. Zaman, working in conjunction with various departments of the Nepalese Government. It is not wholly up to date, as it describes the situation found in 1971. Nevertheless it is a most useful addition to the literature on land reform in Asia.

Part I of the Report contains brief background information on the geography and demography of Nepal, pre-existing systems of tenure and problems resulting from them, and the history of land reform measures. Part II (pp. 25-55) contains the actual evaluation, based mainly on sample surveys. This is an excellent example of a land reform evaluation and is well documented both in the text itself and in the tables in the annexes. The main obstacles confronting the Government in 1964 were: (i) lack of up to date comprehensive and accurate records of land and land rights; (ii) widespread prevalence of oral leasing, share tenancy, labour tenancy, share cropping and cultivation on an annual or seasonal wage basis; (iii) absence of dependable administrative machinery for execution of land reform measures; (iv) lack of political stability and clarity in Government policies; (v) lack of an organised and effective voice of the peasantry; (vi) the considerable influence exercised by "feudal elements" on the reform policies of the Government.

The evaluation reveals that these obstacles have not been entirely removed and success is rated as "modest", although commendable in the face of the many handicaps. Part III contains, as all good evaluation reports should, suggested measures to reinforce the land reform. These contain proposals for more drastic "ceilings" on land ownership; but since this particular objective is not likely to be attained in a short time, further proposals are made to improve measures regulating agricultural tenancy and the status of tenants; another important recommendation is the reactivation of the credit scheme.

The Politics of Regional Integration: A Study of Uruguay's Decision to Join LAFTA, by ELIZABETH FINCH; *Centre for Latin-American Studies, University of Liverpool;* pp. 61; £1.95.

Elizabeth Finch's abbreviated MA thesis, with its 238 footnotes, provides a study of Uruguay's decision to join the Latin American Common Market. It is the author's view that the decision was reached without any very careful study of the project and that two senior government officials were largely responsible for the Uruguay decision – "a restricted elite of top officials was able to determine the outcome" which she describes a little histrionically perhaps as "a leap in the dark". The ultimate aim of LAFTA to be "a means of promoting nationally-balanced economic development within the region" accommodating "the ambition of the strong as well as the fears of the weak", certainly cannot be regarded otherwise than as a very worthy objective.

ITCC Review - Special Congress Issue; *International Technical Co-operation Centre, Israel;* pp. 308.

This Special Number of the ITCC Review contains papers prepared for the Third World Congress of Engineers and Architects. It contains 18 papers, 3 commentaries, 2 "perspectives" and 2 projects. There are 13 contributors from the USA, 6 from Israel, 2 from France and one each from Australia, Canada, South Africa and Italy. The field covered is a very broad one, and while subjects overlap they can be divided roughly into agriculture, social development, housing, engineering, planning, population growth, environment/urbanisation, industry/power/technology, and education.

For policy makers and planners – in particular engineers and architects, concerned with the broad environmental facets of development in developing countries, a very great deal of valuable material is assembled here – the work of a distinguished group of international academics; facts and ideas, technical information and academic discussion, much of which to stimulate professional thinking.

Hong Kong, 1974; $(HK)13.00.

"Hong Kong, 1974" is, rather oddly, the Government's Report for the year 1973, but in all other respects it is a very up-to-date and elegant publication, with informative maps and no less than 77 most colourful illustrations. As befits an overcrowded country with a booming economy, the Report's 250 pages of print are crammed with details about every aspect of Hong Kong life, including, inevitably, the weather. This has a direct bearing on the water supply, which gigantic water schemes, specially featured, seem to have ensured will keep pace with demand until well in the 1980's. Other special features include the Third Festival of Hong Kong; Shantin New Town, now being developed as a satellite town of nearly half a million people; the Museum; the border area, now beginning to come to life again; the Hong Kong Arts Festival; the picturesque islands of the new territories; and Hong Kong's impressive fire-fighting services.

Problems of Irish Local Finance, by DONAL DE BUITLEIR; *The Institute of Public Administration, Dublin;* bibliography and index; pp. 81; £1.35.

How to meet the rising cost of local government services is a major problem in Ireland as elsewhere. Mr. de Buitleir examines the present situation where ever-increasing rates levied on property actually represent over the past decade a reduced proportion of total revenue – 32 per cent for 1972-3, with government grants providing about 50 per cent and other revenues the balance. The author stresses the urgent need to revalue property and suggests a rate on capital rather than rental values would be simpler and more effective. He urges (i) increased rate poundages, and rates varying between areas, (ii) land should be derated and larger farmers brought into the income tax net. He recommends the division of services into "national" and "local" with the former financed centrally and the latter locally, and a UK-style rate support grant. Little prospect is envisaged for any major local revenues accruing from new sources.

Finally Mr. de Buitleir calls for an entirely new approach to Irish local government. Let the belief be abandoned that local authorities must raise a significant amount of their own revenue if they are to have a reasonably free hand in administering local services; policy discretion for national services should be removed from them; let local councillors provide their constituents with a sense of participation in government, free to criticise and vitally concerned with representing the interests of consumers of local services; let local authorities concern themselves with new initiatives (environmental and cultural), dealing with non-essential services; let them assume the executive functions of some government departments (*vide* the Devlin report) – but the prerequisite must be the reform of financial arrangements between central and local government.

Public Planning: The Inter-Corporate Dimension, by J. K. FRIEND, J. M. POWER and C. J. L. YEWLETT; *Tavistock Publications Ltd.;* bibliography and index; pp. 534; £6.25.

Using the town development scheme at Droitwich in the West Midlands as their guinea-pig, the authors explore the network of "inter-agency planning activity in a variety of different yet related fields of public policy". They proceed to examine the problems of multi-organisational planning and they lead up to a final discussion about the evaluation of innovations in public planning and argue that this must be a continuous operation over a wide field "more social and political than narrowly technical in scope".

With a newly-reorganised local government system now feeling its way, this volume is well-timed indeed to stimulate the thinking and to guide the decision-taking processes of planners and their controlling authorities, besides providing students of "government and administration" with plenty of valuable food for thought.

The Labour Government 1964-70: A Personal Record, by HAROLD WILSON; *Penguin Books;* illustrated, index; pp. 1048; new paperback edition £1.50.

Mr. Wilson provides a full political record of his first period as Prime Minister, from 1964 to 1970. The tremendous and daunting pressures of modern government on those who hold the highest political office are one facet that no reader can fail to appreciate.

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